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THE

CITIES OF GUJARASHTRA:

THEIR

TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY ILLUSTRATED,

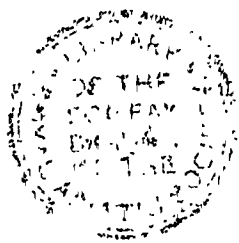
IN

THE JOURNAL OF

A

RECENT TOUR;

WITH ACCOMPANYING DOCUMENTS.



'THE GRAVES OF VANISHED EMPIRES.'

AARON HILL.

BY H. G. BRIGGS, ESQ.

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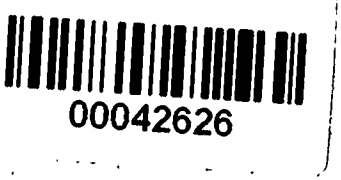

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LUCIUS BENTINCK, LORD VISCOUNT FALKLAND,

P. C., G. C. H., ETC. ETC. ETC.

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBEDIENT

AND VERY

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

where nature has been lavish of her choice gifts, denuding it at the same time of mountainous features, the tourist will find in the ruins around and in the peculiarities of the people much to interest and to admire. The absence of such a volume for enquiry or reference relative to the province, it is hoped has been supplied in the present work.

The surviving peopled cities of Gujaráshtra—Surát, Cambay, Ahmedábád, Baroda and Baroch—are treated upon. In the disposition of the original matter, with the advantage of access to many old and valuable works, translations, &c., I must express my thanks to the Reverend JOHN WILSON, D. D., in particular; to H. J. CARTER, Esq., M. D., the Secretary to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; to GEORGE BUIST, Esquire, LL.D., the Secretary to the Bombay Geographical Society; JAMES FLYNN, Esquire; and T. J. JORDAN, Esquire, of Ahmedábád. Many others I might name with these, who would, however, take such notice unkindly. To one and all I beg to take this opportunity of owning and expressing my gratitude for the assistance and kindness extended to me when both solicited and unsolicited.

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APPENDIX.

ERRATA.

Page	3, *note*,	line	2—*For* Bombay *read* Royal.
	8, do.	do.	1—*For* Uranus or Georgium Sidus *read* Astronomical nebulæ.
	10,	do.	8—*For* worshiping *read* worshipping.
	14,	do.	9—*For* stood *read* stand.
	19,	do.	17—*For* strike *read* stroke.
	36,	do.	24—*For* 1759 *read* 1659.
	39,	do.	27—*For* phpsical *read* physical.
	41,	do.	11—*For* allusion *read* illusion.
	74, *Heading*,	do.	11—*For* 1782 *read* 1798.
	80,	do.	17—*For* conveyance *read* annoyance.
	81,	do.	7—*For* these *read* those.
	117,	do.	3—*For* kingdon *read* kingdom.
	118, *Note*,	do.	11—*For* Doctrines of Iehorah *read* Doctrine of Jehovah.
	118,	do.	5—*For* the *read* The.
	120,	do.	7—After Navy, read—† *Vide* APPENDIX C.
	120,	do.	24—For reference † read *.

THE CITIES OF GUJARÁSHTRA.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE from Bombay—Bassein—Damán—Vasco de Gama in the Gulf of Cambay—Díu and Don João de Castro—Domas—SURAT—The landing—Travellers' quarters—Local History.

EMBARKED on board the Bombay Steam Navigation Company's Steamer SURAT, at 5 P. M., on Tuesday, the 26th October 1847, when the voyage was almost immediately commenced for Surát. The reefs off the Light-house were doubled, and Back-bay passed, while daylight played around us. One of those gorgeous sunsets peculiar to this season of the year, and to this part of India, was happily afforded us. The principle of association has often drawn a resemblance in this respect between the Gulf of the Adriatic and Back-bay; and fancy has not failed in rendering Bombay into that famed isle of Patmos—the scene of the Evangelist John's Divine Revelations—from whence equally sublime prospects of the kind have won the admiration of the tourist. Before us, lay the gift of the unfortunate house of Braganza,* which under fairer fortunes had tended to cement the ancient alliance of England with Portugal, and reverses had not led the former to forget: and memory wandered to the eloquent enthusiasm of the noble Canning when three days served to dispatch three times as

* Vide—BRUCE'S *Annals of the East India Company*, MILLS' *British India*, and THORNTON'S more recent publication of the same mould. Every standard History of England details the dowry of Katharine of Portugal upon her marriage with Charles the Second of England.

many thousand troops to the assistance of the cause of the fugitive Princes who founded the Brazilian empire.* Even here, antiquarian research may fitly develope some clear origin of the designation which Briggs's *Ferishta* ascribes to *Mumba Devi*,† and common parlance to *Bombaim*;‡ while the remains of monachism now lost in the residence of delegated sovereignty, or an Augustinian repository of letters converted into the great official seat of reference, evince the changes marked by time and circumstances. 9 P. M.—A steady breeze from northward occasions the soot accumulating on the quarter deck, which, with the stifling odour produced by the mass of natives on board, prepares one for an uncomfortable night. We are now off BASSEIN, once an important fortress of the Portuguese Indian empire against the annoyance of Muslim power; and, even at the period of Dr. Fryer's visit, containing several grandees, ecclesiastics, and an adequate military establishment.§ The fortress was pillaged by Arabs in 1690 (when 1400 Portuguese were taken into slavery); conquered by the

* "It may sometimes have been burdensome to England, and there may even now be those who wish to shake it off; but a feeling growing out of national faith, a feeling of common interest, a sympathy between the two countries, must, upon consideration, convince everybody of the comparative advantages and obligations of this alliance. It is not wholly, however, at distant periods, it is not altogether amongst ages long gone by, that traces of this union are to be found. In the latest compact of modern Europe, that which now forms the patent law of the nations of the world—I mean the Convention of Vienna—this country, with its eyes open to all the inconveniences of the connexion, but with its memory full of all its benefits, and with all the feelings belonging to them, renewed solemnly the previously existing obligations." *Right Hon'ble* GEORGE CANNING. On affording aid to Portugal. *House of Commons*, 12th December, 1826.

† Rise and fall of the Mahomedan Power in India. By *Colonel* JOHN BRIGGS.

‡ An inscription (which passed into the possession of General Carnac) found among some ruins at Tanna, makes it *Mambei*, a sea port of Tagara, the capital of the Kingdom of Ariya. Vide ASIATIC RESEARCHES, Vol. I. p. 357. Consult also SIR WM. JONES'S WORKS, Vol. II., respecting this singular tablet.

§ Captain ALEXANDER HAMILTON, writing in 1727, (though upon the ground itself, before the close of the preceding century) has the following observation—"It is a place of small trade, because most of its riches lie dead and buried in their churches, or in the hands of indolent, lazy, country gentlemen, who loiter away their days in ease, luxury and pride, without having the least sense of the poverty and calamity of their country. * * * The Governor is styled by the Portuguese 'General of the North,' having

Maharátas in 1750; and eventually wrested from them by the British. Its palaces and batteries, its cathedrals and convents, are now in sad ruin. "At Bassein"—writes Sir John Malcolm—"on the 31st of December "1802 was signed that important treaty which annihilated the Maharatás "as a federal empire."* In 1636, during the existence of the pacific convention formed between the English President of Trade at Surát and the Viceroy of Goa, two of the four pinnaces for the Surát factory were built here—the embryo existence of that fleet afterwards called the Bombay Marine, which has since emerged into the powerful armament known now as the Indian Navy.†

On the neighbouring coast of Sálset, originally a Jáina stronghold, and with architectural remains of Bhudism in the magnificent caves of Khanerí—the Portuguese committed serious derelictions with a view of propagating the Romish persuasion, and though very materially successful with the arbitrary measures employed since the major portion of the Sálsetnís bend to the Papistical creed‡, it will be long indeed before I forget the numbers of desolate churches passed in a journey made in that quarter in 1842.

Diu, Damaun, and Chaul, with all their territories, subordinate to him, but the Church superintends, which makes his government both uneasy and precarious." Major T. B. JERVIS supplied the Bombay Geographical Society with some interesting memoranda respecting Bassein. For a detailed account of the fortress in the seventeenth century, the curious reader is referred to "A voyage round the World from 1693 to 1699, by JOHN FRANCIS GEMILLI CARERI, D. C. L." An excellent translation from the Italian may be found in CHURCHILL'S *Collection of Travels*, Vol. IV.

* MALCOLM'S *Central India*. It was also the scene of our first, as it was of our last, treaty with the Maharátas—"The English at Bombay courted the Peishwa, through his brother Chimnajee Appa, for the purpose of obtaining an extension of commercial privileges, and a treaty had been settled with Chimnajee Appa at Bassein in July 1739." GRANT DUFF'S *History of the Mahrattas*.

† BRUCE'S *Annals of the East India Company*.

‡ MURRAY'S *Discoveries in Asia*.

ders this conception, (as he denominates it) with the machinery employed, to have been exquisitely arranged by the great poet of Lusitania.*

Immediately in a line with us at this moment, at the extreme southern point of the western coast, was *Díva* or *Díu*—one of the early seats of the Portuguese power in India. It was deemed by Albuquerque a fit post for a settlement, and the permanency of his country's influence in Hindusthán, from the advantages—both maritime and terrene—that it commanded. After several political efforts to obtain it, and the lapse of years in so doing, the infamous Nugna d'Acunha succeeded in 1535,† and within a very short time rendered Díu almost impregnable to the assaults of the Native powers. At various intervals, attempts were made to regain it with considerable forces. Under the governor Menezes it was besieged by 25,000 Mogli; but in 1546, the gallant defenders, in sustaining one of these sieges, were reduced to great distress. The then governor, Don João de Mascarenhas, was relieved by the renowned Don João de Castro, fourth Viceroy of India. This General first sent his son Ferdinand with a small band of men, and the bravery and skill employed by the youthful leader occasioned a complete victory, though at the cost of his life. His father shortly after followed young Ferdinand to Díu; but the painful situation of the besieged, and renewal of hostilities, necessitated fresh troops being called in without the means at Castro's control of paying them—nor yet of providing for the sustenance of those at the time under his control. It is told, every means were employed to raise money, but unsuccessfully: in desperation, he tendered, as pledges for the sum required, the unearthed bones of his son; but the army, who

* *Belles Lettres.*

† Respecting this affair, HAMILTON furnishes a tradition "that the Portuguese circumvented the "king of Guzerat, as Dido did the Africans when they gave her leave to build Carthage by desiring no more "ground to build their cities than should be circumscribed in an ox's hide, which having obtained, they cut it "into a fine thong of a great length, and over-reached their donors in the measure of the ground." *New Account of the East Indies,* Edin. 1727, 2 vols. 8 vo.; also PINKERTON'S *Collection.*

idolized the gallant youth, solicited their reposing in their grave. Possessing nothing beyond his sword, he tendered to the inhabitants of Goa one of his moustachios; and their implicit faith in his honor led to the required advance being made upon this singular mortgage.* Shortly after this circumstance, Castro relieved Díu from the attacks of its enemies, by an effectual rout that he made. History asserts that the trade of Surát was destroyed to encourage commerce at Díu, and Osorio makes mention of the splendour of its buildings and the greatness of its maritime power. Upon Surát recovering itself, Díu declined, and is now said to be but a vast pile

* Faria e Souza. Pennant's *Views of Hindostan.* Colonel Tod attributes the story of the moustache to Albuquerque, but without citing his authority: vide *Travels in Western India.* "Raynal "confesses Juan de Castro to have possessed an elevated soul, and says he had imbued it with the maxims of "old Greece and Rome; which appears not to have been a mere author's speech or common-place, for Castro "after conquering Surat (Díu?) amused himself and his companions with instituting *funeral games*, after the "antique manner, to celebrate the heroes who died in battle; nor were these victories as easy as those of "Cortez or Cabral in the Western world." Piozzi's *Retrospection.* London 1801. An instance, however, of Castro's love for classical association may be inferred from the following, which occurred after the valiant defence of Díu:—"At his return to Goa he wished to give his army the honors of a triumph after the manner "of the ancients. He thought that such honors would serve to revive the warlike spirit of the Portuguese, "and that the pomp of the ceremony might have a great effect on the imagination of the people. At his "entry, the gates of the city were ornamented with triumphal arches; the streets were lined with tapestry; "the women appeared at the windows in magnificent habits, and scattered flowers and perfumes upon the "conqueror; while the people danced to the sound of instruments of music. The Royal Standard was car-"ried before the victorious soldiers, who marched in order. The Viceroy, crowned with branches of palm, "rode on a superb car: the generals of the enemy followed his car, and after them the soldiers that had been "made prisoners. The colors that had been taken from them were carried in procession reversed and drag-"ging on the ground, and were followed by their artillery and baggage. Representations of the citadel they "had delivered, and of the battle they had gained, enhanced the splendour of the spectacle. Verses, songs, "orations, firing of cannon, everything concurred to render the festival magnificent, agreeable, and striking. "Accounts of this triumph were brought to Europe. The wits condemned it as ridiculous, the bigots as pro-"fane. The Queen of Portugal said upon the occasion—*That Castro had conquered like a Christian hero, "and triumphed like a Pagan one.*" Histoire *de l'etablissement des Europeans dans les Indes;* translated by J. Justamond, M. A. London 1776. Castro died at Goa shortly afterwards, in the arms of the celebrated Jesuit missionary, Francisco Xavier: his remains were removed to Lisbon ultimately.

The Italian Doctor of Civil Law, Carerl, supplies very elaborate information respecting the Portuguese power and its settlements in India towards the close of the seventeenth century. A pictorial sketch of Díu at the time is also given.

27th October, 2 P. M.—A heavy dew with a close atmosphere prevailed during the night, but the whole coast could be discerned with the light shed by the moon as she rose about 10 o'clock; and the splendour of the heavens amply compensated for other trivial annoyances. With a strong flood against us at day-break, the steamer made way at the rate of seven knots an hour, and by one o'clock we were off Damán, still in the possession of the Portuguese, and memorable for a sally made at midnight by its early European occupants against the Native Princes of the Konkan—who awaited the dawn of the following day to attack the Christians, under a belief that they (like the Jews) would not use arms on the Sabbath.* We had long fully entered into the Gulf of Cambay,—the scene of an awful storm in Vasco de Gama's last voyage, when the mariners on board of his vessel, with equal dread and dismay witnessed the wanton fury of the waves. The deportment of that distinguished servant of the Crown of Portugal on this occasion not only tended largely to pacify the fears of his crew, but with undaunted soul he declared, "Behold! India trembles at your approach!"† Perhaps it was this incident which served Camoens in the fifth canto of his *Lusiadas*, where he makes the genius or guardian of the Indian Ocean assail Vasco as his fleet doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and amid the rage of thunders, tempests, and prolific horrors, menace the invaders of that unfrequented sea for daring to explore those secrets of the deep which he had hitherto so carefully concealed.‡ Dr. Hugh Blair consi-

* PENNANT'S *Views of Hindostan.*

† OSORIO: quoted by PENNANT. FARIA E SOUZA also mentions this incident.

‡ Vide MEIKLE'S very indifferent, and Mrs HEMAN'S pretty, translation. In December 1845, while at Macao, I spent several hours for three successive days in the garden and at the grotto where Camoens dashed off several of the cantos of his celebrated poem; which ranks him as the chief of the bards of his native land, and the peerless among the sons of song of whatever clime or country.

of dilapidation. Wilkinson remarks as much more than half a century ago.* There is many a dark tale attached to the intrigues of the Portuguese in this place:—one unhappy blot will ever continue on their political character, for the murder of a member of the Royal House of Ahmedábád in the foulest proceeding that time has on record.†

28*th October*.—Yesterday by 3 o'clock we were off Domas, the Sanitarium of Surát, resorted to in the months of April and October by Europeans and the wealthier class of Natives. Boldly fronting us on the northern shore, was (commonly denominated) *Vaux's Tomb*, raised to the memory of Mr. John Vaux, one of the early Presidents of the English factory at Surát, who was drowned in the *Taptí*.‡ The water on the bar being deemed insufficient to carry the steamer over, she was brought to for a while: very shortly after, with the making flood the steamer continued her voyage, and we were enabled to anchor by 5 P. M. off the city of Surát; performing the trip from Bombay a few minutes within four and twenty hours. The *coup d'œil* of the city from the bend in the river which presented it, was certainly interesting; though the mouldering hand of time was painfully evident. From Sálset to Damán, we had a range of fine bold undulating hills before us; from the latter quarter to Surát, the country was low and flat, in appearance not unlike the Sundarbands of Bengal. The view along the banks of the Taptí did not seem dissimilar to the prospect

* About 1670, Diu was sacked by the Arabs of Muscat in a successful engagement made by their war-vessels; it soon recovered from the effects of this misfortune.

† BRIGGS's *Rise and Fall of the Mahomedan Power in India*.

‡ "The tomb forms a good landmark for ships passing over the bar; *it is built over the grave of a Dutch gentleman, who was chief of their factory*." PARSONS. The Italics are my own; such was the information supplied by the English Consul of Scanderoon of his visit hither in 1777. HAMILTON, writing half a century earlier, observes—"In the year 1697 Mr Vaux by accident was drowned in Surat river, by a pinnace oversetting, in which he and his lady had been taking a pleasure on the water."

afforded on the Hug'hlí—the expanse of water being the most striking difference. A Hindu fane with several flights of steps leading to the bed of the river, was perhaps the most important-looking edifice passed; and a *gambaj* apparently, embowered amid the luxuriant tresses of lofty trees in a large barren plain—another oasis, as it were, in this desert,—presented the prettiest aspect; otherwise the scenery was positively tame.

Collecting my baggage, I was transported with them in a large wherry-looking boat (peculiar to Surát) to the shore: and after a little quibbling with the Custom House authorities about exposing my mere personal apparel in my trunks, conducted to the travellers' quarters, one of a range of compartments of a long building on the Dutch *bandar*, and within what was formerly known as the Dutch factory. Here, the first delectable knowledge of travelling in Gujarát presented itself in stern form; that no *bangalá* is provided with a messman to meet the exigencies of a famished frame, but the tourist must be accompanied by his canteen and domestics *ad lib*—tables, bedsteads, and chairs, being the only provisions afforded by the shelter for strangers: somewhat different to arrangements in the Dekkan. The kindness of a fellow-passenger who had availed of the same accommodation, will enable my battling with circumstances until the return steamer from Bombay brings the necessary apparatus; and I have meanwhile engaged a couple of domestics upon the understanding they are to proceed with me to the interior. Hour succeeded hour in agreeable associations and anticipations of my projected tour: the breeze whistled through the umbrageous foliage of a tall tamarind nigh my quarters; bats gambolled in them or were at muschito nibbling; the waters of the Taptí had gradually subsided in their epilepsy; the firmament was bright and beautiful, such as one might witness at Claremont;* and the atmosphere was tainted with a par-

* Near Fieldhausen, Cape of Good Hope; the site of the discovery of the Uranus or Georgium Sidus, which an obelisk upon the spot commemorates. I had spent many a pleasant evening here in the spring of 1843.

ticularly heavy dew. As the last stroke of the midnight hour was rung from the Adálat gong, I retired from the *stoep* to my room.

2*nd November.*—HISTORY OF SURAT.—*Surat,* or *Sourat* according to the Bibliotheque Orientale of M. de Herbelot, or *Souratta* in compliance with the old Dutch and English charts, or *Surát* to approximate with the local and vernacular denomination—the chief city of *Surát Attávísí,* from the zilla comprising twenty-eight districts, which were of late equally shared between the Gáikawád and Peshwá, the proportion of the latter having lapsed since by treaty to the British—is situated in Lat. 21° 4′ N. and Long. 72° 51′ E.,* on the southern bank of the river Tapí or Taptí (to adopt ordinary orthography,) which flows in a west south-westerly tortuous course from the Kándes province, where it finds its source in the Injárdí chain of hills and falls into the Gulf of Cambay a little below the bar. The city is girt northward by the natural limit assigned by the river; and inland, a brick wall—extending over three parts of an irregular oval, and in admeasurement of more than five miles—furnishes what is known as *Alím paná,* or Refuge of the World a smaller circuit within, called *Shaher paná* (Refuge of the City,) is in deplorable condition, large portions of the masonry having been removed at various intervals to repair the outer wall. The remains of the original construction exhibit perforations for musketry, flanked by insignificant bastions at irregular distances. The wall is both weak and of no considerable height: but its maintenance is an effectual guard to predatory marauders; while it permits a rigid surveillance to the police, and ample security to the hoards of the wealthy, and the stores of the trader. There are several gates, with heavy wooden leaves and lodges for guards; each partaking of the name of the town or river or fane to which it leads.

* MILBURN'S *Oriental Commerce.* No perfect data of this kind can be given: the author quoted is generally the most correct.

The mere phonetic alliance of ancient and modern names, and the desire to identify by approximating characters, similar appellations, has in the present instance proved pregnant with abundant absurdities. An early sub-division of Gujarát, which at one time formed part of the Anhulwárá monarchy, "occurs in *Menu;* in the *Purans,* especially in the parts touching on cosmography; and the *Mahabhárat*"* as Sáuráshtra, the region of the Sáuras or Surías—the land of Sol, once occupied by a sun-worshiping race, whose origin is now lost in mere fable; the *Syrastrena regio* of Arrian†—and which latter times has variously denominated Sorath, Sureth, and Soret. The *Ramáyána* makes a similar allusion, and hence Heber's citing it for the antiquity of the present city.‡ The difficulty is rendered more intricate to the antiquarian novice when it is remembered that during the reign of Bhola Bhímdeu, the ninth of the Solankhí dynasty, the great epic poem of *Chand* names among other feudal barons who attended his mandate—"*with one thousand warriors came the lord of Soret* :"§ this occurs in the twelfth century. Despite, however, of the elastic property of etymology, the Abbé Raynal positively asserts our Surát to have been, in the thirteenth century, a fishing village. History is precise as to *Thambáiat* (Cambay) having been the sea-port of the Hindu monarchs: the castle of Surát, the oldest structure in its *parganá*—which by the way is of Muhammadan construction—both by legendary and sculptured acknowledgment, only claims an existence of three hundred years later; upon the opposite bank of the river, tradition declares, and ruins evince, the ancient city of Rándír. Captain Hamilton, writing in times

* Tod's *Travels in Western India.*

† Periplus: vide Vincent's *Translation.*

‡ *Bishop* Heber's *Narrative of a Tour* &c.; pretty generally known.

§ Strange to say, *Colonel* Tod presumes this allusion to refer to the modern city of Surát!

more approximate to satisfy an enquiring disposition, affirms that the English originally remained hither, but afterwards moved with the native population to the present capital upon the Taptí.* A local chronicle furnishes the romantic legend of a merchant and his mistress having fled hither from persecution, and by their subsequent affluence to have excited the cupidity of hundreds to flock to their settlement, which laid the foundation of Surát†; but the period supplied is not older (by presumption) than the close of the fifteenth century. The problem will be at once solved upon tracing the capital of the Sáuras of antiquity and the Indian Syria of Tod's classical associations—*Jáunagar;* seated in the dell of a wild mountainous tract, belted by an almost impervious forest, and in *Kátiwar*. Again,

* MILBURN, in his *Oriental Commerce*, assigns 1660 as the year of this movement; but neither one nor other has ever been corroborated. HAMILTON'S remark is to the following effect—"Surat was built about "the year 1660, upon the banks of the river Tapta or Tapee, which, being discommoded with banks of sand at "Rannier, the then mart town on this river, the English removed about two miles further down the river, on "the opposite side, near a castle which had been built many years before. * * * In a little time after the "English had settled there, others followed their example, so that in a few years it became a large town, but "without walls."

† The King of Rumshám had a dancing girl, or concubine, called Surthá, whom he discharged from his seraglio: an opulent merchant named Rumí, who was at the time resident in the dominions of the prince, received the unfortunate damsel into his household. Upon this circumstance coming to the knowledge of the monarch, he expelled both parties from his territories: in consequence, Rumí took his family, his wealth, with Surthá his mistress, and wended away towards Hindústhán. On their arrival hither, where the present castle of Surát stands, there was an inferior fortification, intended to defend the ancient city of Randír upon the opposite shore from the frequent depredations and sallies made by pirates and others of the like fraternity. There were a few huts about this primitive structure. Rumí, approving of the river for its commercial facilities, with the protection afforded by the fortress, established himself here, and entered upon mercantile operations. The information spread abroad into various countries; and traders from distant lands came hither, towards co-operating in Rumí's views, and promoting a general intercourse with the interior, which led to a rapid increase of the population. This fact having been heard by the King (*of Ahmedábád?*) he approved of Rumí's design, and invested him with power: after which he founded the city and built a wall, around for the safety of its inhabitants. The inner walls of the city were raised at the Sarkár's expence in Samvat 1567, and A. H. 947; and the castle was re-built or extended about Samvat 1620, and A. H. 980: and the city was then called *Surath*, after the lady who accompanied the fortunes of Rumí. *Gujaráti Manuscript.*

Ovington confidently reads Surát as the *Musiris* of Ptolemy; but Rennell and other competent writers have shewn the inaccuracy of the Greek's geography. Abandoning the theory which would give Surát an ancient origin, its name has next elicited research, and a grave authority, in erroneously ascribing it to the vernacular for *beauty*, ceases to show the immediate antecedent of the designation.* Perhaps the manuscript I have quoted is nearer the truth to anything heretofore given—that the city owes its appellation to an amarosa, as its existence to her paramour's successful speculations. But it is difficult to reconcile this legend with the biography supplied by the *Háft Iklím*, an Arabic treatise, which asserts that Rumí Khán (or Kadáwand Khán—originally Ságrá Aká,) once a Turkish slave, obtained high honors under the Ahmedábád kings, and was appointed, for his skill and capacity, to superintend the erection of the castle. Possibly Rumí's *Surthá*, his Nurmáhal, may have had caprices as powerful as the empress of Jahángír: yet both the historian and the tradition agree as to the empire under which Rumí dwelt, and upon the point of his expatriation. The synopsis of Abul Fazel is silent respecting this detail of an indifferent city.† But indigenous records establish the spot being subsequently regarded with religious veneration as the port of embarkation for pilgrimages to the shrine of the Arabian prophet: hence the spiritual affinity of the Muhammadan devotee, *Bábul Mekká*, the door

* It is not uncommon to hear that *Surath* signifies beauty—an error gravely given in DUNCAN's *Modern Traveller in India;* the orthography of the Urdu word opens with *zwād*, while the word itself has been borrowed from the Arabic, and is merely indicative of figure, appearance. *Cup surath*, again, is justly translated, by either Gilchrist or Shakespeare, as—beautiful, &c.

† When the Muhammadan General is at loss for data, he amuses himself by celebrating some vague assumption; such for instance as probable antiquity—*in ancient times it had been a large city.* Vide vol. II., page 79, of GLADWIN's *Translation.* I merely take his remarks as they apply to the period of Akbar's acquisition; without the fictitious halo cast to improve the importance and value of the victory.

or gate of Mekká.* Its value under the Mogul Government ultimately occasioned a number of adjacent parganás being set apart to maintain the importance of the rising city†; and as the rendezvous of the Admiral of the Imperial fleet—tended only to increase both its nautical and commercial value. The origin, the interest, and the power, of Surát—historically and geographically—were purely Muslim; indebted rather to religious fanaticism for its splendour, which again was largely promoted by the presence of Europeans, who made it their chief depôt, for almost a century, in the East—and decaying with the weakness and decline of its paternal sovereignty.

Long, however, before the western tide of speculation set hither, the city of Surát had passed from its original founders—the dynasty of Ahmedábád to the victorious arms of the renowned Akbár; and in after times, it capriciously lent its aid to the most powerful or richest Nawáb who chose to mount the *gadí*, until the intervention of British force. In 1512, the then open town of Surát had been sacked by the Portuguese: in 1543,‡ by the inscription above its only gateway, the castle of Surát sprang into

* "Besides the abundance of its commerce, Surat was in high renown, as being the port through which the Mogul's subjects made the pilgrimage to Mecca, of which, in the archives of the Empire, it was called the port."—ORME'S *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire.* "There is great reason to think that such an attempt" (to have the town in the hands of the East India Company) "would meet with the warmest opposition by the Mahomedans in general, on account of their esteeming this post the gate to Mecca; and which, therefore, it is not unreasonable to suppose they would easily give up to those they call unbelievers."—Letter of Mr SPENCER, *British Chief of Surát,* to the Bombay Government, under date 3rd March, 1763.

† "During the pre-eminence of the Mogul sovereignty, the Government of Surat was supported with great dignity by the revenue of the city, and twenty-eight small adjacent pergunnahs, said to have yielded a revenue of twenty lacs of rupees." *Minute of the Hon'ble* JONATHAN DUNCAN *regarding the history of Surat &c.*—under date Bombay Castle, 13th August, 1798.

‡ "According to the *Háft Iklím*, Rumí Khán built the castle of Surát A. Hij. 947, A. D. 1540; though Major Price, in his Mohammadan History, vol. iii., would place the foundation ten years earlier."—BIRD'S *Mirát Ahmadí.*

existence to repel the attack of pirates and *faríng'ís* (so runs the sculptured story) who had had so frequently despoiled the peaceful residents. The hardy lascars of Gogha, and the followers of the perfidious Chief of Angríá, largely participated in after marauding expeditions. While the genius of Sultán Báhádur ordered the erection of the citadel, the monarch himself at the time was at warfare with a petty prince holding the sovereignty of the north of Bombay, and never even visited the fortification.* "The castle," writes Bishop Heber, "forms the centre of a chord, of which the outer wall of the city is the semi-circle:" upon its battlements stood two staves, from one of which once streamed the crimson banner of Delhi, significant of the existence of the Nawab of Surát, and removed with the death of the last of that propped line; from the other still waves the British flag. Perhaps within the citadel may yet be seen the celebrated cannon of Turkish manufacture known as *Sulímaní*, sent to India by Sulímán the First, of Constantinople, and whose probable appearance here is given as A. D. 1554. "The model was so exquisite," says the *Mirát Ahmadí*, "that an order was given to have it transported to the capital of Agra. * * * The Emperor not finding means for transporting the gun from Surát, it consequently remains there." Baldeus observes in the seventeenth century—that "the castle is well provided with cannon brought from the ship *Mid-*"*dleburgh*, which was lost there, 1617."† Primitive in its structure, useless in its situation, the Muslím fortification remains an evidence of the various phases of power of which it has known, than of past glory or present

* Briggs's *Ferishta*. Dr Bird's able translation of the *Mirát Ahmadí* is silent upon this particular point, though he is made to visit the banks of the Tapti. A quotation from an Arabic work entitled *Tabakát Akbarí* has him at Mahim.

† *Travels in the East, etc.*, by Phillip Baldeus, Minister of the Word of God in Ceylon. Translated from the High Dutch, printed at Amsterdam 1672. "The principal edifice belonging to the city is the castle. * * Its shape is an irregular square: the shortest side of it, and one of the oblique sides, facing the west and northwest, are washed by the river. At each angle it has a large round tower, which serves for a bastion; the walls, or curtains that connect these together, are about half as thick, and nearly as high, as

worthlessness. The progress of the Maharáta arms in 1661, under the renowned Sívájí furnished the first fatal blow to the rising prosperity of Surát: beleaguering the city with his predatory hordes, they reduced the inhabitants to signal hardships, sacked the wealth of the country, and, when it was found impossible to reduce the castle, or to challenge unharmed the bravery of the Dutch or English in their factories, the Maharáta host moved from the scene of their depredations to forage for gold where it was next procurable. Nor must the earlier and equally brave resistance—though less fortunate—given the siege of Akbár, be forgotten: the Emperor of Agra had encamped before Surát on the 19th January 1573, according to the *Mírát Ahmadí*—"One month and seventeen days had been "spent in besieging it," asserts Alí Muhammad Khán, "at which time the "mines were advanced to the door of the place, and the mound for carrying "it had been all prepared; the besieged despaired of assistance from any quarter"—and surrendered to the clemency of Akbár.

When the genius of this Trajan of the Eastern world was about defining the limits of his Empire, he rested for a season at Cambay; and during this interval, with childish curiosity and daring he embarked upon the bosom of that element he had longed to see. Commencing with brief hours, afterwards prolonged to consecutive days, he sailed along the shores of the Gulph: perhaps from an undreaded distance beheld a portion of the Portuguese armament which then swept the Indian seas*—his own store of

the towers, which I reckoned to be full forty feet from the ground to the battlements. On the narrowest side there is a circular place of arms made between, and of the same height as, the towers. A ravelin was added to the oblique flank, next to the river, by the English, after they got possession of the castle, which covers that side. The Moorish colors are hoisted on the South-Easternmost tower, and those of the English upon the South-Westernmost."—STAVORINUS, A. D. 1776.

* I might with safety aver that a fleet was at the time lying off Surát bar; for while affairs at Surát presented a dubious aspect, the Portuguese kept neutral, but so soon as it was discovered that the Emperor's party was the more fortunate, they came into Akbar's camp, rendered due obeisance, and afforded assistance.—Vide BIRD's *History of Gujarát.*

knowledge, and the literati he collected around his person, made him aware of the Anhulwárá fleet which existed in these waters, under an Admiral of Ormas, six centuries before—his keen powers of observation had made him sensible of Surát as the sea-port of the Empire; and with the political necessity produced for its occupation, he laid the foundation of that glory which still casts a halo over its wreck.

Returning from his conquests to the capital of his dominions, he commenced that enlightened policy which shed peace throughout the land, promoted the increase of its agricultural resources, and occasioned the first dawn of a generous commerce under the Muslim conquerors of Hindústhán. The result of this liberal government in Gujarát under Akbár's son is thus happily pourtrayed—"Manufactures were multiplied at Cambaya, Amed-"abat, Broitschia, and several other places. New ones were set up in "those towns which were yet unacquainted with this industry. * * * * "Malabar brought their linen clothes thither. The goods manufactured on "the banks of the Indus were sent thither. The silks of Persia, China, "and Bengal; porcelain and other costly materials from China; spice from "the Eastern Archipelago; copper, pearls, and carpets, from Persia; the "perfumes of Arabia; lead, iron, broad-cloth, cochineal, and some hard-"wares, from the English," shew only a portion of the extent and variety of the imports: "the produce of the numberless manufactories all over Guz-"zerat is deposited in the warehouses of Surat—the blue and white checks "of Cambaya, some even mixed with gold for the wear of the rich; the "white linens of Broitschia, so well known by the name of *baftas*, and her "extensive and delicate crude cotton; the printed linens of Amedabat, "her saltpetre and indigo; local manufactures of silk; shawls—very light, "warm, red fine cloths, made of the wool of Cashmere"—constituted but an indifferent ratio of the exports. "All these riches centred at Surat, "which stands on the river Taptee, a few miles from the ocean. This city

" was indebted for this advantage to a port which protected the merchants,
" and to its harbour, the best on the coast, though not an excellent one.
" The Moguls, who had then no other maritime town, drew all their articles
" of luxury from thence, and the Europeans, who had not got any of the
" great settlements they have since made at Bengal, and on the coast of
" Coromandel, bought most of their Indian commodities at that place.
" They were all collected there, as the people of Surat had taken care to
" procure a navy superior to their neighbours. Their ships, which lasted
" for ages, were for the most part of a thousand or twelve hundred tons
" burthen.* They were built of a very strong wood called teak. The
" cordage was made of the barks of the cocoanut tree; they were rougher
" and less pliable than ours, but at least as solid. Their cotton-sails were
" neither so strong nor so lasting as our hempen ones, but more pliable,
" and less apt to split. Instead of pitch, they made use of the gum * *
" called Damar. The skill of their officers, though but moderate, was suf-
" ficient for these seas, and those seasons in which they sailed."

" So many united advantages had brought to Surat a great con-
" course of Moguls, Indians, Persians, Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and Euro-
" peans. We hardly suspected that there was such a thing as Commercial
" principles, and they were already known and practiced in this part of

* *Captain* SARIS, in his *Journal of the Red Sea*, (prior to the famed voyage to Japan) gives the following account:—

" The 9th of May 1612 I caused the *Indian* Ships to be measured, which were found to be of
" the scantlings following; *viz.*, the *Rehemy* was long, from sterne *(stem, perhaps)* to sterne-post, an hundred
" three and fifty foot; for rake from the post aft, seventeen foot; from the top of her sides in breadth, two
" and forty; her depth one and thirty.

" The *Mahamodie* in length an hundred six and thirty foot; her rake aft twenty. In breadth, one and forty; in depth nine and twenty and an halfe. Her mainmast in length was six and thirty yards, an hundred and eight; her main yard, four and forty yards, an hundred two and thirty."—*Vide* ORME'S *Fragment of the English Trade at Surat.*

" Asia. The value of money was very low, and it was easily obtained; and " bills of exchange might be had for every market in India. Insurances for " the most distant navigations were much in vogue. * * Fortunes were " proportionable to the ease with which they were to be acquired by indus- " try. Those of five or six millions were not uncommon, and some even " more considerable."* The Vanias were the most expert and astute traders; the Parsís, by their application to husbandry and mechanical labor, aided the prosperity of Surat.

The Moguls of Hindusthán, who thought more of the honor of war than the subtleties of Commerce, lent their assistance in the pilgrimages from the seat of their monarch to Surát, where embarkation ensued in the annually destined fleet for the holy land of Muhammadanism. The devotees on these occasions had their purses as heavy as the consciences they desired to unburthen; and the wealth carried with them was spread along the track of their journey. The longest stay was made at Surát prior to final departure from the Indian shores. From time immemorial, woman has been the devoutest, where she has been the sincerest, worshipper at any shrine; and in these fanatical hours, the female world supplied the richest, if not the most numerous, members of the caravan. Their sojourn in Surát considerably reduced their money store—with the jewels, the gems, the silks, and other purchases to be made for the toilet; and the necessaries for the intended voyage. No sooner was the desired vow performed, and a return effected hither for the journey homewards—past remembrances revived the desire for fresh novelties: and the imperative voluptuousness of the Oriental hárím has seldom, if ever, been denied the only gratification afforded its secluded inmates. Thus whichever way, the progress of the pilgrimage from or to Mekka or Hodída; Surát obtained the most essential advantage.

* JUSTAMOND'S *Translation of Histoire de l'Etablissement des Europeans dans les Indes.* London 1776.

The Mogul fleet supplied the armament for the *Gonjonwur*, or holy ship as Stavorinus writes it, which in his time was reduced to this exception: in bygone memories they mustered strong in number, and their crews were deemed the richest and most profligate. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the bold pirate who introduced himself to the Gujarát coast as Captain Avery, seized the Juddah fleet—on board of one of which was a sister of Aurangzíb—and sacked it; the vessels returned to Surát, and the English were saddled with the offence (particularly after Sir John Child's affair): for this proceeding, Mr. Vaux, the President of the Factory, and Hamilton the mariner, with others, were thrown into prison until matters were cleared up.

Slowly yet sensibly flowed the presence of European trade—the English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Swedes, each had its factory, and each introduced the staples and commodities of the mother-country suited to the taste and, invariably, equal to the wants of the citizens:—the prosperity of Surát had swoln to its acmé when Sivájí's attack occurred, and not long after, the conduct of Child gave the final strike to its past grandeur. He had entered upon extensive credits with the native merchants, laden several vessels with local produce upon the faith of such engagements, and the shipping had scarcely sailed when he annulled such stipulations by refusing to abide by their tenor—to repay within the periods defined the amount due. Commerce had received its death-blow at Surát; if Sir John and the members of his factory were punished by Aurungzíb for this bitter transaction. About 1735, the Mogul fleet, then commanded by the Sídís of Jínjíra, in consequence of long arrears of wages undischarged to them, harassed the local craft and obstructed the trade of the port until the liquidation of their demands.*

* Vide *Minute of the Hon'ble* JONATHAN DUNCAN, Governor of Bombay, regarding the History of Surát and the East India Company's connection with that city; under date Bombay Castle, 13th August, 1798.

All these concurring circumstances coming gradually and sensibly upon each other, told upon the revenue, the government, and the traffic, of Surát: and as Bombay some time prior to the last event had been esteemed a better harbour, and the traders possessed more confidence under its bulwarks, many of the wealthy and more important of the Surát citizens removed their occupations and families to the English territory.

Hitherto, the revenue by the customs was estimated at more than a million pounds sterling,* which was divided into the *latty* or customs for the support of the city, and the *tanka*† or assignments on revenue for the maintainance of the Castle, its force, and the fleet of the Mogul Admiral. The authority also in the City was divided between the *Mutsadi* (*Hakim*, as he is called by Mr. Duncan's minute) or governor civil, who was entrusted with the financial arrangements—and the military chieftain who held the *kíladarí* (castle,) independent of each other, or of other authority than the Emperor himself: the two offices were afterwards consolidated and placed under the management of one individual, and with the growing effeminacy of the imperial monarchs, and the distractions which existed among their delegates, the Nawáb who was best favoured with ability or fortune, or who had won the capricious fancy of the soldiery, seized and retained the *gadi* until the appearance of a more powerful rival.

However painful this enunciation of valour which was stimulated by

* Twenty-five or twenty-six millions of livres, on an average about £1,116,000—*vide Histoire de l'Etablissement des Europeans dans l'Inde.* Hamilton, however, has this observation. "The trade of Surat was, and is still, very considerable, for from Anno 1690 to 1705, the revenues arising from the custom-house, land-rents, and poll money, *communibus annis*, came to 1,300,000 rupees, which is stirling £162,500." The financial data of this writer I am inclined to regard with distrust; if the reader will direct his attention to the author's dedicatory address to the Duke of Hamilton, he will participate in this impression.

† This term (along with *phurza*) was afterwards rendered applicable to the Company's and Nawáb's fiscal rights under the treaty of 1759.

gold, there is an instance of bravery and loyalty which is still remembered with gratification and reverted to with pride. In the Maharáta marauding expedition of 1724 in Gujarát, the name of Suját Khán, Nawáb of Surát, is mentioned as "one of the most valiant officers of the Imperial forces," who lent his presence and his troops to arrest and defeat the progress of the invading host.

In 1748, Nawáb Safdar Khán was expelled the City by an adventurer named Mía Achan, with the assistance of Chímnaji Apá and his Maharáta troops.* In consequence of this service the Maharátas controlled, and collected the toll of two of the City gates; as well as the Cháuth being conferred in perpetuity for the mutual benefit of the Peshwá and the Gáikawád: the share of the former, formed part of the cessions made to the British by the treaty of Bassein, and to which Sir John Malcolm so energetically alludes. But Mía Achan was quickly expelled from his usurped position. The City soon became embroiled in the disputes of gubernatorial competitors, and awaited with dread the threatened attack of Sídí Masud for the stipulated allowances from the government for the protection of the fleet and the trade of Surát, by his master, the Sídi of Jínjíra.

Such is the history of Surát until 1758, when the conflicting interests which with various success had annoyed the citizens towards the attainment of the government, led the English to espouse the cause of a party who was willing to serve their interests. The diplomatic ability of Mr. Brabazon Ellis, at the time Chief of Surát, availed of the important advantage and succeeded in placing Mi-u-dín Khán or Siad Achan, better known as Mía Achan, on the *gadi* (throne.) Mía Achan appears to have been the son-in-

* GRANT DUFF makes the engagement *three lacks of rupees:* and subsequently he remarks—"Syud Acheen, the person who had entered on the agreement, having no other means of satisfying him, offered one third of the revenue of Surat, until the amount should be liquidated,—a proposal which was accepted." *History of the Mahrattas, Vol. ii.*

law of a previous Nawáb, and hence his pretension to the *gadi*, spurred by an indomitable thirst for power; failing in his subsequent expectations from the Maharatás, he sought and obtained the aid of the English factory. His family, of Mogli descent, had originally settled at Barhánpur, from whence they had removed hither early in the seventeenth century; their affluence and importance in the city of Surát, perhaps lent a substantial air to the Mía's designs. In consideration of this service upon the part of the British, a formal treaty was executed on the 24th June 1759, between Mía Achan as *Nawáb* on the one part, and Mr. Spencer, the British Chief of Surát, in behalf of the East India Company, on the other part—conferring the following privileges:—1st, That the Castle of Surát, with the Mogul's Navy, should be controlled by the English East India Company, together with the allowances provided by the Imperial Government for the support of its armament; and 2nd, That the East India Company had the right of appointment of the Nawáb's *Náib* or chief minister. There were other subordinate provisions—as the apportionment of the revenues, the collection and particular appropriation of the sea-customs, and the nature and position of the interviews between the Nawáb and his English allies; immaterial to the present resumé.* In 1798 the last of the direct hereditary line of succession from

* Several tourists allude to the wealth and pageantry of this Muhammadan prince at this time: I will confine myself merely to extracts from two recent writers. M. DE PAGES remarks in 1769—"During my short "residence here, I saw the Nabob make his appearance in public. His highness was escorted by three thou- "sand regular troops, besides an equal number of men on foot, on horseback, or in palanquins; a procession well "calculated to give some idea of Asiatic pomp and magnificence. In his train was a band of music, remarkable "only for its noise; a number of camels, and four elephants richly caparisoned.". Again, alluding to a Muhammadan procession which he witnessed—"The extraordinary pomp of the Indian grandees in their attendance "on the Nabob to his mosque, the incredible number of troops, the bands of music, the splendour of equipages "and robes, and the immense crowd of spectators assembled from all quarters, gave peculiar grandeur and "magnificence. His highness was escorted by five or six thousand sepoys, and a considerable train of artillery, "whilst between him and his mufti, the English counsellors, with a body of the Company's troops, took distin-

Mía Achan, expired without issue; when Mr. Jonathan Duncan (Governor of Bombay) proceeded to Surat to give effect to the wishes of the Government of Bengal in placing the brother of the deceased Nawáb upon the vacant *gadi;* under revised stipulations—suited to the exigency of the times and the position of the individual—which were received with not the best grace by Mír Nasr-u-dín Khán.* The Nawáb's annual stipend was restricted to a lac of rupees from the British Government, with one fifth of

"guished precedence." Eight years afterwards, Mr. PARSONS observes—"on the conclusion of the month "ramazan, commences the first day of biram, or the great feast of the Mahometans, which lasts three days; on "the first day, the Nabob, all his officers, guards, and military (about twelve hundred,) go in procession from "his seraglio to the great mosque, and return in the same order. This year there were five elephants in the "procession; on the largest of which was placed one of the most splendid hackarys, taken off the wheels and "finely decorated with scarlet cloth, gold lace, and embroidery; on this sat the Nabob on a crimson velvet "cushion. The other four elephants had hackarys on each, and were as richly attired as the former; two of "them marched before, and two behind, the Nabob, but no person sat on them excepting the guide. The great "officers were each in their palanquins, which were richly inlaid with gold, silver, ivory, and tortoise-shell. "Each officer had eight men, (four on each side every palanquin) walking, richly clothed: these followed "immediately after the elephants, which were surrounded by the horse-guards. The procession was preceded "by several buffoons, who performed many pleasant tricks to divert the populace; amongst these were some "who distributed ginger-bread cakes, and several nicknacks made of paste. Then came the music, consisting "of trumpets, hautboys, drums and kettle-drums, mounted on camels richly caparisoned, with the drummers "richly dressed. Then followed about two hundred archers, each with a bow, a quiver of arrows slung at the "left shoulder, and a sword and target. Afterwards marched two hundred infantry with muskets and swords, "which were followed by part of the horse-guards, another band of music, and afterwards many military offi- "cers, mounted on stately horses, richly furnished: the Nabob and elephants marched next. In the rear of the "great officers, in their palanquins, were about the same number of archers as preceded; after whom came "the remainder of the horse-guards and infantry. Amongst the number of the great officers was an English "gentleman, Charles Bouchier, Esq., the present mint-master, who being a servant of the Company, his palan- "quin was guarded by English soldiers, with their proper officers. The whole made a gallant appearance."

* Nizám-u dín dying"—quoting from FORBES'S *Oriental Memoirs*—"the Government of Bombay "very properly interfered in the appointment of a successor, with a view of putting an end to tumults, confu- "sion and mischief, which on various occasions had molested the peace of Surat, occasioned by the exactions, "oppressions, and corrupt administration in the Nabob's durbar; especially in collecting the revenues and con- "ducting the police of the city. This mal-administration had so often disturbed the happiness of the inhabi- "tants, the walls and fortifications were in a defenceless state for want of timely repairs, and the surrounding "districts had been so often invaded on the Nabob's quarrels with the Mahrattas, that it was evident the "power of a Surat Nabob, now no longer an officer of the Mogul Emperor, was inadequate to this important "situation."

the customs' collections and surplus revenues of Surát, which in 1828 amounted to about fifty thousand rupees: he was also allowed independent authority over those families which resided upon his estates. His lands extended over some fifteen hundred acres; with three hundred cultivators: he had two hundred armed attendants and three hundred domestics and slaves*—who shadowed the waning glories of the Nawábs of Surat. Nasr-u-dín was succeeded by his son Afzul, who died on the 8th August 1842, without male issue, when the property attached to the Nawábship was sequestrated by the British Government—in virtue, it was deemed, of the treaty of 31st December 1800, when the tenure of power was not unobscurely defined by the omission of the words *for ever* implying hereditary right—which at the time afforded no little chagrin to the individual whom the Bengal Cabinet delighted to honor.

With the demise of Afzul-u-dín Khán, the last Nawáb, expired everything of a local halo in the political administration of Surát, which is now wholly managed by the British authorities.

* CLUNE'S *Chiefs and Princes in Western India.*

CHAPTER II.

MUHAMMAD Alí Jíní, the Janíserí—The European Factories—A flood, and former floods—English Cemetery—Interview with the Mullàh of the Dawudí Bohorás; and a visit to his Maddrassa and Musjíd.

4th November.—The object of my intended tour having got abroad, almost the first of other motley intelligence given me was the existence of an old Muhammadan who was reported to be the Prince of the Black Art Fraternity, and in consequence said to be skilled in divination: at all events, he acquired a livelihood by pretending to read the career of every individual, and other harmless legerdemain of popular belief among the ignorant, both Hindu and Muslím. He was stated to have been resident nearly half a century in the City, and I deemed the occupation of the man to be a guarantee for eliciting information, considering the variety of characters thrown in his way upon whose credulity he had worked. Intent upon my purpose, I proceeded early this morning towards the *Mogli Seráí*, in a by-lane of which resided the strange character I was about to encounter. I was accompanied by a young Portuguese who was known to the old man. An upper-storied, square, substantial building, with marks of approaching dilapidation, was shewn as the dwelling we were to enter: and a large heavy door,—its leaves studded with broad-headed nails, and carefully closed,—gave me admittance after some little parleying on the part of the youth. The house is an old Mogli erection, with an open court-yard in the centre, in which a number of local fruit-trees, and an abundance of weeds rankly luxuriated: significant among these was a stunted Date-Palm, indicative of the land of Mísr.

We were received in the servants'-hall of former times and the darbár of the old wizard: the squalor and fœtid odour of this place would be

past description. Presently appeared a short stout man with a venerably-white beard, and the very personification of old Pan, with greater nudity of frame. His body was besmeared with oil, and a couple of rope anklets streamed with the obesious juice. His eyes were large, clear, and expressive of cunning. With a naturally strong voice, the high key in which he spoke rendered the intonation harsh and hoarse. "Is this your friend?" almost roared the old man: "no, no"—chuckled he. "Friend!" ha, ha!" And he then vented expressions of inward delight at having detected what he considered duplicity in the lad who was my companion.

I did not choose to have my fortune told, but the old man's sturdy appearance was flattered, and the clearness of his optics for his age. I had hit upon the right chord: and the hearty frankness of a soldier marked the subsequent deportment of Muhammad Alí Jíní. He said his age was 82, and that he was obliged to visit this country upwards of forty years ago in consequence of intestinal disturbances in his native land; that he was a *yankícharí;* and then, whether from the weakness of memory, or the result of cunning, he sometimes said he was from Egypt—at others, from Bagdad and Babylon. He had been the associate of many of the valiant men of bygone years, and upon naming several Turkish Beys he appeared familiar with their names, and mentioned those of others. *Yankícharí, yanícharí, janíserí*—playing upon the words in a loud tone:—"Know you"—said I—"the renowned Mehemet Alí of Egypt?" The eyes of Jíní flashed with indignation: that flash gleamed but for a moment, and his ordinary tone expressed, with a firmness which belied the assertion, the categorical negative, "No!"

I did not continue this topic, since I had found the annoyance my remark had given in the form it was hazarded; but the conversation was changed to other matters, and Jíní appeared to have an utter aversion to naming

anything in relation to Surát. "The City had become old"—he said—"the people poor, the world sadly changed—it was the reign of humbug!" He is said to be enormously wealthy by the gains he has acquired from fortune-telling, but I question this for many reasons: he has for certain ably cajoled the multitude who have sought the aid of his divination. "Can you look at the sun with your young eyes—can you tell me with your eyes closed, the movements of my body—can you do either of these?"—enquired Muhammad Alí Jíní, volubly speaking. My reply was certainly not in the affirmative. "Ha, ha!"—continued the old man, with a jovial trepidation of the abdomen—"I am aged now, but I can do both: look into my eyes, see how clear for my years are the iris and cornea? My manner of life has led my breast to become a mirror which reflects everything around!" I performed certain gestures while the old man closed his eyes, or rather drooped their ponderous lids, and named successively my not very elegant feats. The sun was not sufficiently high for him to pay his ocular devoirs to the god of day: but I left Muhammad Alí Jíní pleased with himself and with me. Upon parting, he gave me a *batásá* (sugar-cake) drawn out of an earthen jar equally as filthy as his hands; he insisted upon my eating it in his presence, but I excused myself from so doing for some frivolous reason which suggested itself at the time. I next received his blessing: when he enquired how it was that I did not wish to know of my future fortunes. My response was to the effect that such were at my own control. "Ha! ha! right,—you are wise—you are wise." * * * "But"—said I—"can you promise me nothing without the aid of palmistry?" "Promise you?"—repeating the expression—"promise you?—you can be anything you wish * * *—but you will forget my words when in the height of power!"— making the last remark in a subdued tone, as if the reality were apparent and bitterly felt by him at the moment. I laughed im-

moderately at the manner and nature of the prediction—and he scanned me sternly. I bent my head lowly to the filthy necromancer, and passed out of the portal leaves, which swung on their hinges with a hoarse creaking, and closed again over the horrible squalor in which revelled Muhammad Alí Jíní—the Janíserí! So much for an acquaintance with the mysterious, and the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties! *.

6th November.—The earliest purpose of a tourist in Surát will be to visit the Factories of the different European Powers who contended for Sovereignty in the East in the palmy days of Oriental splendour; when every individual who returned to his native land, surprised his kinsmen, his friends and his countrymen, with the wealth and the curiosities that he had accumulated—himself the greatest novelty at having been restored to his home, his fatherland! A smart gallop of a few minutes across the dusty *máidán* introduces one rapidly into the Moglí-serái, and if a taste for the curious wrestles to advantage over a desire to confine research to particular localities, the dwelling of the *Bakshí* or State Treasurer † (an occupation extinguished with the *ancien regime*, though the title as an hereditary one is still retained,) known as *Daríá Mel*, or the Ocean Palace, and the most respectable building in the neighbourhood, will attract a few minutes pass-

* In compliance with a promise made, several days afterwards I repeated my visit with another acquaintance of Jíní, an Anglo-Armenian: the old man was ill, peevish, and not over communicative. He did not recognize me, and I thought it quite as well not to remind him of our previous interview. There was an indifferent repetition of the breast-mirror affair; the day was cloudy, and the sun of course could not be seen; many, however, have witnessed his facing the powerful gleams of Sol.

† The Bakshí of Surát is the descendant of *Mír-Zía-u-dín*, commonly called Shahái Mítáu, the first of this family who held the office; and the brother of that Nawáb whose pretensions (for political reasons) were recognized and supported by the E. I. Company in June 1759: their common ancestry has been traced to Miá Shahái Makán, a native of Barhánpur, who settled early in the seventeenth century at Surát. The Bakshí has certain rights upon the revenue; and, with some other members of the Nawáb's family, the Government have granted his person immunity from arrest for pecuniary liabilities, unless with their previous sanction and consent.—*Vide* CLUNE'S *Itinerary*.

ing notice; with the Habshí eunuchs—an indolent, spendthrift set, reflecting in themselves the virtues of their lord,—who may be seen lounging at the entrance. The palace—to maintain the appellation given by its proprietor—is a large, long, tame-looking affair, remarkably filthy; and the windows of the ground-floor possess the advantage of being grated with iron-bars. Making way to the old English Factory, the traveller's attention will be riveted on the right of this road by a dilapidated caravanserái, and still employed as such, though at one time availed of by the British Government (and not many years ago) for the Ordnance department. Four parts of a decagon, and a like proportion in a dome, form the portal of this *mozaffir kánd;* its wooden leaves are liberally adorned with huge heads of nails. A large court-yard, intended for the vehicles and cattle of travellers, is surrounded by a number of dormitories situated at the back of open varandás: the masonry is in active decay, and will in a few years be level with mother-earth. Above the portal is an inscription in Persian characters, in six metrical lines; signifying the name of the party who built the hospitallerie, the year—which is given by the numerical value of the characters of the last stanza,—and the name of the Mogul Emperor (Shahái Jáhán, I believe) in whose reign this benevolent purpose was executed.

The *English factory,* now converted into both a Lunatic Asylum and a refuge for the native sick, is a noble pile—considering the period at which it was raised, and the solidity and strength it still presents to view. Lusty timbers of huge dimensions, and walls intended to last as long as any of those of "the old house at home;" barred windows below, and heavy gates without, tell of other times and glorious times—still such, though in the rolling current of age. The heart swells with pride in remembrance of gallant, brave, adventurous spirits, who within this compass had commerce and territorial aggrandizement equally before them: and while they looked

to their coffers individually, suspiciously eyed in a body the honor and stakes of their nation in the astute game of conquest. Ye are gone, proud, bold, determined ones; but a glorious heir-loom have ye left your country! Plain, substantial work is seen—the Taptí trailing her serpentine course not many yards beyond the river frontage; and the simple structure around to cover treacherous assault: honest English hearts, ye were a prudent, happy race! Within these walls now ring the maniac's yell and the howl of feverish delirium—the shriek of penurious travail and the groan of agonizing torture! Farewell—old house! never will I forget the flight of stone steps—the arrangement of the apartments—the balcony and its commanding prospects—and many another pleasing economy and association. Another yell—long, hollow, horrible: it is but the maniac's bright joy? Away, away, to other scenes of man's phrenzy!

The *Factory of Portugal:* a fortification—built for a never-waning dominion; strong, durable, impregnable to the native host: a receptacle for the pomp and pageantry of life—the soldier's camp, and the diplomatist's kingdom; the paved court-yard, the lofty palace—unmistakeable evidences of the dim reflex of past glory. That noble hall—which banqueted chieftains and warriors, a brilliant train—now utter vacancy; yon bell—which gathered brave hearts—its sonorous tongue now silent; thither, a tottering chapel—venerable with the manes of centuries casting their long, broad lines upon the champions of Roman Catholicism—Xavier and his missionary band! Sullen solitude stalks here: an old peon, crabbed, rickety and precise, holds the keys of the asceticism which he has adopted for his livelihood; and occasionally calls a subordinate officer under instructions from the Vice-roy of Goa to visit desolated grandeur—grandeur which shocked the pride of Venice, and outvied Christendom in its magnificence and its wealth unparalleled!

Gallop again through the City and out of the Otwá Darwázá, and there—that wide domain, that small lower-roomed building, the neat terrace before the Hall, the slight picturesque stair-way leading to the river—indicate the *French Factory*. A mere *bangalá*—small, neat and airy—intended for the sultry climate of the East; quite what you would expect and desire in a Frenchman—gay, happy, volatile creature—studying the luxuries and enjoyment of life. Long, light, warehouses—and a fair expanse of ground about, for every desirable purpose—commercial or otherwise. This then is the French factory! They then had a small Chapel near the English factory, which has since been converted by a native into a dwelling-house. The order of Capuchins supplied the missionaries, who were generally conversant with medicine and surgery—and practised gratuitously among the natives, by means of which they made a few converts. The St. Malo Company were ruined here in consequence of the unliquidated liabilities of a Havre association who had involved themselves to a large extent in the books of the native Bankers of Surát. The last French gentleman was compelled to leave for Bourbon in consequence of funds not coming forward so rapidly as were necessary from the Mother Country for his maintenance. The Factory has been recently done up and is now the pleasure-seat of a wealthy Banian (*Vánia.*)

Back to your quarters, and within the solid circuit of the *Dutch Factory;* the Commissariat department has charge of the warehouses—the station library occupies one of the range of compartments used by the young factors; another is set apart for the reception of European travellers—the others are tenanted to those who would inhabit them, and one of these I have rented and now write in. The President's dwelling is in ruins, and a large house opposite it on the north-eastern extremity of the ground has since crumbled to dust or been allowed to perish. The property was pur-

chased by our Government (in 1822 I believe) upon the Dutch quitting Surát. The flag-staff has been removed: the open promenade, which was tastefully laid out, is now a barren walk; the substantial parapet which overlooked the river, has been re-placed by a poor wooden rail. What might not all this have been, had the Dutch concluded a similar treaty, instead of the English, with Mía Achan, the wayward, turbulent Nawáb? How Stavorînus—the old Admiral—fumes, raves on this score: charges Mr. Spencer with duplicity, intrigue—every other like pretty word that a genteel vocabulary could furnish? Alas, alas! the sons of Amsterdam—cruel children of the dykes of Holland—it was a glorious season ye had hither; but the autumn of your prosperity arrived, and then your trade withered, and the frost of British sternness nipped fair hopes; potential lines—calmly, legibly drawn—to be swept away by a mightier master hand! Look upon this picture here, and then bestride you any of the old Dutch dwellings at Ceylon, at the Cape of Good Hope, nay—on the Malabar coast, and you will view the verí-similitude of the factors' quarters of Surát.

Olof Toreen makes mention of a Swedish factory—a house rented for the purpose from the natives I would presume, for no European tenement of the kind besides those already mentioned is to be traced. The existence of this commerce, however, was brief, and is merely alluded to now from historical interest.

Another circumstance, though not immediately bearing upon the subject, is still worth the recording, as it relates to a foreign power. "About two months since," writes Abraham Parsons (H. B. M. Consul for Scandaroon) in December 1777, and at the time at Surát—"Mr. William Bolts "arrived here from Leghorn, in a large ship with the Emperor of Germany's "flag. On his passage out he touched at Delagoa, on the coast of Africa,

"by some accident the ship got on ground and received damage. He ap-
"plied to the English Chief for naval stores, of which he was in great want,
"but could not obtain them, nor had he a prospect of selling his cargo; he
"therefore went to Goga, in the Gulph of Cambay, where the ship now is;
"where it is reported he is selling his cargo to great advantage. In the
"meantime Mr. Bolts bought a vessel of the Dutch Chief, in which he went
"to Daman, and from thence by land to Poona, the Capital of the Mahrattas,
"in order to obtain leave to establish a factory on some convenient part of
"their coast. He has obtained permission, but with a prohibition of erect-
"ing a fort. There are several English officers and sailors on board his
"ship, to impress which an English sloop-of-war is expected to be sent from
"Bombay to Goa (*Goga, or Gogha?*): it will not be an easy mat-
"ter to accomplish this with so small a force, as the Imperial ship carries
"thirty guns, and two hundred men and upwards, in which is included a
"company of regular soldiers. Mr. Bolts has left his wife here, who is now
"at the French Consul's, where she intends staying until her husband's re-
"turn; the consul having a wife and family, she passes her time very agree-
"ably, and is visited by all the people of consideration of the four European
"nations who inhabit Surat." Subsequently, it apppears that Bolts left the country, disappointed in his promised expectations. GRANT DUFF states, in his *History of the Maharátas,* (Vol. II. p. 345) that Mr. Bolts was "originally in the Company's service in Bengal."

Alone stands the English power at the present moment—alone! yet how powerful—how justly proud of its conquests!

8th November.—The weather has been anything but pleasant the last few days; singularly enough, there have been some glorious sunsets in banks of crimson and gold, with a canopy richly inlaid as it were with tissue in fields of azure, and rouge and violet, fringed by snowy lines—otherwise,

to portentous clouds, high winds have prevailed during the morning and evening, followed by occasional passing showers; mid-day again being extremely sultry. But, the gossip of the time is—the flood which set in at noon yesterday; the affluxion continuing until two this morning. Such an occurrence is deemed unusual at this season of the year, though freshes are not uncommon during the rainy weather. The body of water on this occasion is more considerable than it has been known for some years past, according to common report. The rise at midnight was fully nine feet above high-water mark by the gauge at the Moká bridge; and the volume of water across from bank to bank, quite as broad as the Hugh'lí off Chandpál Ghát during a bore. The canal formed by the late Captain Watkins Wenn from Baráchá to the creek of Udanái, has in this instance saved the unfortunate city from the fatal effects of similar visitations. The damage done by the flood is not so extensive as it was supposed, though numbers of patímárs have been torn from their anchorages and carried down the river, and several heads of cattle have been borne away by its velocity: large patches of cultivated land, too, have suffered. At Bíríáu, on the road to Baroch, a number of carts with their loads have been lost in crossing a branch of the river which runs in this direction. There must have been a very heavy fall of rain in the Kándes country within the last few days to occasion this strange afflux.

Such floods have liberally contributed towards ruining the importance of this once celebrated city. STAVORINUS asserts that "in 1727 the river rose so high that the people sailed in boats over the city walls as far as the Darbar: in July 1776 the water of the river rose ten feet within a quarter of an hour, and increased so rapidly that it was almost upon a level with the walls of the city in a very short time. The afflux was so violent that all the vessels were carried away by it, the Company's (Dutch) Schooner,

the *Young Peter*, was driven from before the town high upon the shore at Otwah, and the *Gonjonwür*, or Holy Ship, as it is called, was carried down the river and dashed to pieces." FORBES, who was here at this period, observes in his usual florid vein—"The tottering mansions of the Moguls, long out of repair, the slighter Hindoo houses, and the mud-built cottages of the lower classes, alike gave way, and buried many of their inhabitants in their ruins. * * * In the surrounding country whole villages, with the peasantry and cattle, were swept away. Every ship at the bar, with yachts, boats, and vessels of all descriptions in the river, either foundered at their anchors or were driven on shore. Three ships richly laden belonging to a Turkish (*Persian?*) merchant were entirely lost; their cargoes exceeded three lacs of rupees. The *Revenge*, the finest cruizer on the Bombay station, foundered, and every soul perished; together with the *Terrible, Dolphin*, and several of the smaller armed vessels. The ravages of this storm extended along the coast for upwards of six hundred miles on the west side of India; but it was felt most about the latitudes of Surát and Broach, and added no trifling effect to the sombre appearance of this once animated emporium." In 1810 there was another like fearful visitation; repeated again in 1822; and in 1837, the consequences of similar freshes created the most direful disasters, more sensibly felt in consequence of the fire which had preceded.* An able report, drawn up shortly after the last flood named, called the attention of Government to the propositions suggested by Lieutenant (now Captain) George Fulljames, when Captain Wenn was directed to proceed with the canal towards diverting the force of the stream which

* "On the afternoon of Monday, the 24th of April 1837, a calamitous fire occurred at Surát, and after raging the whole of the following day, destroyed 6000 houses, 500 human beings, great numbers of cattle, and an extent of property by which 70,000 individuals have in a greater or less degree been reduced to poverty and ruin."—ALLEN'S *Asiatic Journal*. London, March 1838, No. 99.

hitherto "set on the town-wall between the Delhi and Surráh gates, and has more than once destroyed it." It is said, however, by competent authorities, that the canal, from its peculiar construction, is not so valuable as it would have been otherwise.

9th November.—An European burial-ground in Surát is associated with the volumes of Ovington, Thevenot, Stavorinus, and all the older travellers—imagination pourtrays magnificent sarcophagi, and all that Oriental grandeur can evince, to display and maintain a grateful recollection for buried worth or affection. Proceeding towards the English Cemetery—situated a furlong's length from the Bíriáu gate—a mean wooden doorway opens upon a large expanse of broken ground, covered with weeds, trees, and decaying pomp. On the right, springs the superb mausoleum of Sir George Oxinden, where he and his brother repose side by side. The tombs which mark the respective spots have been mutilated, and a small white marble slab in a niche along the western wall bears the following inscription:—

Hic situs est Christopherus Oxinden, obitatis
Exemplum vita sed vitæ, mortæ caducæ,
Intrat et exit hic, inseptis ammanq finuit:
Ille dies tantum numerare logista valebat,
Non annos, nam raptim, exegit mors rationem
Quæritis O Domini quid damni vel quid habitis
Lucri vos SERRUNTORIUM nos, perdidit ille
Vitam sed per contra scribat MORS NIHI LUCRUM
Exÿt è vita Aprill. 18. 1759.

The mausoleum is a square pile, with columns at each angle: the eastern ones possessing stairways which lead to the terrace; over which springs a skeleton dome of masonry in the form of a Maltese cross rendered

convex. On the same partition as the lower slab, a larger one is placed here, formed of two separate pieces of spurious white marble, and upon which is sculptured this imposing epitaph. It were at least desirable, if no intention exist to renovate the present mouldering condition of this erection, that the slabs at least might be removed to some more secure quarter—the precincts of a temple for instance. Sir George was the first Governor of Bombay and of British India, "when"—Bishop Heber remarks—"the latter comprised little more than our Factory here, and the desolate island of Bombay." It must have escaped the observation of the learned prelate when this remark was penned, that our factories were certainly more numerous, and in point of distance as remote as the territories under the control of the present Governor-General of India.

Interrogas? Amice Lector!
Quid sibi vult grandior hœc structura? Responsum habe
In hoc gloriatur satis quod alteram illam grandem continet
Superbit in super quod una cum ille tegit generosos duos fratres
FRATERRIMOS
Qui et in vivis suirint et etiam in mortuis sunt quam conjuctissini
Alteram velis intelligas? lege ALIBI
Intelligas velis alteram? lege HIC
Dominus GEORGIUS OXINDEN Cantianus
Filius natu tertius D. Jacobi Oxinden Equitis
Ipse equestri dignitate ornatus
Anglorum in India, Persia, Arabia, Præses
Insulæ Bombayensis Gubernator
Ab Illustri Societate pro qua presidebat et gubernabat
Ob maxima sua et repetita in eam merita
Singulari favori et gratitudinis specimine honestatus.
Vir
Sanguinis splendore, rerum usu,
Fortitudine, prudentiâ, probitate,

Pereminintissimus
Cum plurimorum luctu, obÿt Julÿ 14°
Cum plurimorum frequentia sepultus est Julÿ 15°
Anno Domini 1669
Anno Ætatis 50.
HÆUS.LECTOR
Ex magno hoc viro, vel mortuo aliquid proficias.

Among a large variety of other inscriptions, the following may be found :—

Franciscum Bretonum, President at Surat. Died 21st July, 1649.

Stephen Colt Latt, President of Surat. Died 2d May, 1708. Æt. 45.

Bernard Wyche Esq., Chief of Surat. Died A. D. 1736.

James Hope, Esq., Chief for affairs of the British Nation in Surat. Died 6th July, 1747. Æt. 47.

William Andrew Price, Esq., late Chief of Surat. Died 11th March 1774.

Mary Ellis, wife of Brabazon Ellis, Esq., Chief of the English factory in Surat. Died 4th October, 1756. Æt. 36.

And

Frances Jones, wife to William James, Esq., Commodore of the East India Company's Marine at Bombay. Died 13th November, 1756. Æt. 34.

One mausoleum covers the grave-stones and remains of these ladies, who are stated to have been affectionate friends.

Captain Alexander Forbes, of the Bengal Army. Died at Surat, 16th February 1780. Æt. 32.

"In memory of Mary Price, wife of William Andrew Price, Esq., Chief for Affairs of the British Nation, and Governor of the Moghul Castle and fleet of Surat, who, through the spotted veil of the small-pox, rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God, experiencing death, which ended her days April the Thirteenth, Anno Domini 1761. Ætatis suæ 23.

The virtues which in her short life were shewn
Have equal'd been by few, surpass'd by none."

This epitaph, on the grave-stone of Mrs. Price, is the isolated exception in the cemetery, which furnishes the high designation assumed by the principal Senior Merchant of the East India Company at Surát.

The little Annesleys are the only children provided with monuments in a period extending to fully two centuries: their inscriptions are merely recorded as significant of the taste of the times in which they briefly lived.

Hic Jacit
Samuel Evance Annesley
Honorabilis Viri
Samuelis Annesley, Angli—
Et Susannæ Uxoris, ejus, fillius;
Natus Mart: 18 A. D. 1697–8.
Variolis corruptus eodam die An. 1702
Mortuis die 21.

Hic etiam jacit
Frater ejus Cæsar Annesley
Natus 8vo. Maÿ 1700
Morbo spasmi 30 Julÿ sequentis
Mortuus
Gum Deobusa bortivis.

The name of WILKINS, and its philological recollections, needs no comment: in this instance, the worth of the departed and the survivors present an equally honorable aspect; but, the chisel recalls what has been so often repeated both in volume-shape and by the solemn accents of age and experience—the premature phpsical doom of extraordinary literary exertion.

Here under lie the mortal remains of Wm. WILKINS, Esq.
Late Collector and Magistrate of the Zilla of Broach,
In the *Bombay Civil Service*, who departed this life
On the 30th November 1820. Aged about 29 years.
As an Oriental scholar generally
The deceased was highly distinguished,
Having in early life acquired a taste
For the languages and literature of
The East, under the tuition of his
Uncle, the celebrated Orientalist
CHARLES WILKINS, LL. D.
His knowledge of the Sanscrit and
Persian languages was not excelled
By any of the Bombay establishment.
THIS MONUMENT
Has been erected out of regard
To the memory of *Mr. Wilkins*,
By a few of his Brother Servants.

I left the ground early, suffering from unpleasant associations which I could not control:—

The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave,
The deep damp vault, the darkness, and the worm.

10*th November*.—In the very heart of the city, in a quiet, retired quarter, which branches off from a bridge in the noisiest, busiest, filthiest part of Surát, is the—*Jhanpá*. It is another element to what the stranger has already bestrode in the native portion of the town: here exists no bustle, no turmoil, no din—the houses are large, well built, and with every regard to ventilation and light; the street is unusually clean, and an air of mingled gravity and cheerfulness characterize the very deportment of the

pedestrians to be seen hither. Within this atmosphere reigns the *Mulláh*—the lord paramount, temporal and spiritual, of the *Dáwudí Bohorás*; here is his palace, reside his kinsmen and flock, is his Maddrassá and his masjíd.

Upon the strength of an introduction, I was ushered into the Mulláh's presence. I was received in the state varandá by an individual of ordinary height, with a placidity of countenance not unusual among the members of his sect; and accosted in a mildness of tone at variance with the rumoured sternness of his address. At the first glance, I would have given his countenance credit for an intellectual mould, engendered by the tales circulated of his profound acquaintance with Arabian lore; a little scrutiny—and this allusion is dispelled by other and more durable impressions, strengthened by every succeeding moment: I believed I had met a cunning rather than a determined character—a cautious, not a bold ruler—one better fitted for peaceful times than stormy seasons. A sedentary life affords him the advantage of looking younger than his years—he is said to be upwards of five and forty, his appearance does not indicate more than thirty-five; and a pair of large handsome black eyes, make much amend for thin sharp lips, and a face if somewhat stouter would present an elegant oval. The apartment in which we were seated was richly carpeted, yet a white sheet was spread over the floor with a view of protecting either the Persian or Kidderminster fabric. Our chairs were drawn close to a table groaning with gorgeous coloured China-ware, chiefly of a breakfast-service—and a candied-sugar ornament intended to represent a flower-basket, in this collection, attracted particular notice; the furniture around was lined with crimson damask. The Mulláh was habited in the full robes peculiar to Gujarát, and of the finest muslin; his feet were unhosed, but thrust in a pair of light, elegant slippers, embroidered with bullion; and his head-dress was composed of a small white turban—in use among his tribe—very neatly arranged.

A long train of domestics waited their master's bidding with folded arms over their breasts, at the back of the Mulláh's chair; a couple of more important attendants, after a series of adulatory obeisance, were permitted seats, apparently their right without this ceremony, perhaps brought about in this instance by the presence of strangers, and the homage justly due to their superior. Upon the exchange of passing compliments, I was taxed about the distance and the various stages between Alexandria and Suez—the progress of the mails through Continental Europe—of the different Powers of Christendom—thence to religious discussions in Great Britain—next, the nature and application of æther—followed by a variety of topics of a scientific caste, which introduced explanations of the air-pump and galvanic battery—in fact, I was amused how gradually and ingeniously he proceeded from subject to subject, as if they had once before been discussed, and were merely renewed to test accuracy from the knowledge of a second party. A break in the Mulláh's conversation led me to divert it to matters more immediately in relation to his creed and the laws of his sect,—and though he warded many, even direct, enquiries, by evasive or open replies, courtesy prevented pressing them again in any other form; I still ascertained that his flock amounted to about a thousand families in Surát, and that in various parts of Western Hínduslhán, and elsewhere, his sway was absolute over his countrymen. A description of Normal School was said to be conducted within the vicinity of the mosk for instructing children in the elementary parts of Gujarátí and Arabic; while the higher branches of study are taught by Professors in the *Maddrassá,* or College, adjoining the Mulláh's palace. The Maddrassá was built, at a cost of nearly sixty-five thousand rupees by Mulláh Shafuldín—at the time occupying the Dáwudí *gadí*—in 1224 after the Hegira, corresponding with 1809 of the Christian Æra. Its primary purpose was the preparation of fitting men for the sacerdotal offices of the Dáwudí Bohorás—but was sub-

sequently extended to a more general object; it is now no more than a Native University. The mysteries of the Kurán form the chief inculcation: but every other course of education esteemed among them is taught. Astronomy and History appear favourite studies: but the delight of Bohorás is in the art of speaking and writing well—a Chesterfield mania; Belles Lettres consequently occupy a large portion of their time and attention. The Maddrassá is wholly supported by the Mulláh, and the young men are also fed and clothed at his expence: the institution generally maintains from a hundred to a hundred and fifty students, and, upon completing their matriculation, they return to their homes; nor is it forgotten, during the interval taken up by *Alma Mater*, to bestow prizes to the well-behaved and most talented, as incentives to literary exertion and correct deportment.

The Mulláh, after affording me this information, was so very courteous as to take the lead in conducting me by a side door running from his dwelling into the Maddrassá. The collegians had just broken up, and were scattered about the aisles in knots in earnest conversation: the moment their High Priest was seen, he was paid the ordinary salutation current among Orientals to their lords. The building itself is a large square, with an open court in the centre, after the Mogli form, and made up of varandás looking into this area: it comprises three stories, including the ground floor; the dormitories run along the lower range—the mid-story is used for meals, with a portion devoted for the Professors' private apartments—and the second floor is wholly engaged for tuitional purposes. On the terraced roof, which commands an extensive view of the country, promenade and lounge the students in the cool of the evening. The Mulláh introduced the professors—one had travelled as far as Delhi, and had spent some years in book lore at Agra; he had now settled for life: he appeared a happy type of the Friar Tuck genus. The Mulláh next suggested a visit to the Masjíd: I

pleaded the fact of having boots on, which I understood precluded my entering the place of worship. He waived the trifling anomaly, as he deemed it. We parted now with reciprocated assurances of good faith, and the promise on my part of a renewed visit before leaving Surát. A couple of attendants and a Professor were ordered to accompany me over the masjíd.

A stone's throw from the Mulláh's palace we arrived at a long white-washed wall, with the gateway surmounted by a dome-covered recess for the Muezzin being recited. Lime-plastered benches on either side of the entrance were occupied by florists twining garlands of the Eastern jessamine, to be cast over the tombs within the broad area which spread itself before us. A large cistern—to be converted into a fountain at pleasure—filled to the brim with water, first arrested the wandering gaze: but, conspicuous above all, were the mausolea with their gilt spires, rearing their lofty heads in the Lilliputian world of masonry around. We entered the first of these, which contained the embalmed remains of the immediate predecessors and relatives of the present Mulláh—with their marble monuments of Indian sculpture, and from Indian quarries: around that portion of the tombs where the heads are said to recline, Arabic distiches from the Kurán were wrought in relievi, and exquisitely. The concave of the dome was adorned with illuminated figures, in a style approaching the Maltese Mosaic, superior to anything I have seen. The adjoining mausoleum was densely crowded with sarcophagi of the ancestors of the Mulláh. In the courtyard were a host of mortar-washed tombs over the kindred of his house. Proceeding towards the place of worship, my attention was directed to the neatly finished *Kablá*, or niche, occupied by the Mulláh when praying or reading to his congregation: he takes the lead in worship, reciting in loud and solemn tone the formulæ of their faith. Nor, I will confess, did the scene and circumstances operate the most favourable impression on my breast in

treading the unadorned pavement and looking upon the stern barrenness of the fane: it was not unlike the idea entertained by Lamartine in reference to similar scenes witnessed in his tour through Asia Minor—"We feel that Mahometanism had its peculiar style—its style all prepared and conformable to the luminous simplicity of its creed—when it raised these simple, regular temples, without curtains for its mysteries, and without altars for its victims."* And, as I passed out of the masjíd, I found myself instinctively as it were repeating the Kalmá, to my own astonishment; while imagination revelled among the cause of the Crusaders, and the bygone splendour of the Alhambra—in short every thing Muhammadan: the fiery western track, its rise, its extinction; while, free as the air they breathe, continue the indigenous sons of Arabia in their native homes.

Non est Deus præter
Deum unicum
Cui non est Socius
Deus, unus Deus,
Eternus, non gignit, et
Non generatur et non
Ei compar unus.

In the fearful conflagration of 1838, the *Jhanpá* suffered severely, along with other wards of the city; large numbers of the Bohorás fled at one trying moment to the masjíd, under a happy belief that their place of worship would be spared this calamity by Providential intervention; the masjíd, however, was soon assailed by the consuming element, and upwards of two hundred souls perished within the precincts of the mosk. The injury

* *Voyages de l'Orient*, par M. Alphonse de Lamartine.

done the masjíd and various other masonry appertaining to its area, was speedily repaired; long before any other portion of the City had recovered from the fatal visitation. The fresh appearance of the buildings would prompt one to give their erection a very recent date.

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND SUPREMACY, OF BRITISH POWER IN SURAT—Prevailing popular impressions—Early visitors to, and writers on, Surát—Origin of English intercourse—Captain Hawkins' arrival and difficulties—Sir Henry Middleton—Captain Best; his treaty with the Mogul Government and naval engagements with the Portuguese—Establishment of a Factory—Captain Downton's arrival and brilliant victory over the Portuguese—Mr. Edwarde's mission to the Court of Jahángír. Sir Thomas Roe (the Ambassador)'s arrival and his proceedings—The E. I. Company's fleet at Surát—Formation of a Dutch Factory. Imprisonment of the English occasioned by Dutch piracy—Subsequent views and measures of the English factors—Revival, and nature, of hostilities with the Portuguese—Alteration in the system of English commerce—Pacific convention with the Portuguese Government of India—Courten's Association for establishing a trade with the East, and the ill feeling between the rival Companies—Internal economy of the English Factory—The position held by, and the deference paid to, the President of English trade at Surát.

TAKE up the map of India and run the eye along its ocean frontier, and, with few yet anomalous exceptions, it will be found wholly under the British regime. The interior may be exquisitely arranged for native princes—allies or tributaries; but the rock-bound coast is controlled by the energy, the vigilance, and discretion of their protectors and patrons. Thence proceed to enquire into the rise and progress of this new dynasty—which bearded the Muslím in his conquered strongholds, destroyed the fragments of that vast empire founded by Akbár Shahái, and which had gradually passed into the hands of *Nawábs* or governors, who usurped territories delegated to their control with the growing effeminacy of their monarchs—and last, not least, extinguished the Maharáshtra power. Heap over heap—a heterogeneous mass promiscuously piled—present themselves to the observer: the erudite labours of Mills, Auber, Elphinstone, Wilks, Malcolm, Thornton, Stewart, and a phalanx of such powerful names, may be arrayed,

and thus the traveller or the student arrive at some definite idea—not of our early Anglo-Indian life and relations, but—of the Mogul sovereignty, its acquisitions, the subsequent length and breadth of the empire, the course of administration pursued, its military strength and financial resources:—every minutiæ, too, is detailed—the architectural tastes of the Mogli, from the Táj-Mahál of Agra to the Water-Palace of Ujín; the various mints, and peculiarity of dies; happily interspersed with anecdotes of the beautiful *Nurjíhán* (light of the hárim) and other hurís of the Imperial seraglio; of *Tansín*—the Orpheus, and *Soudá*—the Juvenal, of Hindusthán, and many another minstrel; courtiers and saints, recognized by regal admiration; from the different gorgeous attire comprising Oriental costume to Bernier's 'Hill of Lustre.' We are at this moment better acquainted with the Ayín Akbárí, or of Clive's prowess; the ambitious intrigues of M. Dupleix; the wars of Aurangzíb, Típu Sultán, and Sívájí; than anything in relation to the trials and endurances—the humble suppliance and still bitter treatment—experienced by our countrymen in our early connexions with Western Hindusthán, not only immediately from the lords of the soil, but the various other Continental Powers who strove with us for the mastery. It appears but a short period since Sir Thomas Roe presented his credentials at the Court of Jahángír, and lowly supplicated of the Great Mogul something like the honor of a commercial alliance; it is but yesterday, apparently, that an English nobleman, from a spur of the lofty range of the Himaláiah mountains, dictated that famous proclamation which marched parks of our artillery, brigades of our horse, and divisions of our infantry, to dethrone the usurper and seat the legitimate Durání monarch in his capital of Afghánistán—whose kingdom had supplied the first Muhammadans that passed on to Ghízní and thence over-ran the East, and who again in his turn had been established by the conquerors of that race. So rapidly have

these changes occurred, and the interlude occupied in the same eventful form, that they break upon us with not a little of that imaginative spirit of Coleridge, conveying one

"through cloudland—*gorgeous* land!"

The assistance rendered by a medical gentleman* to one of the Emperors of Agra gave us the possession of a plot of ground in Bengal; in Madras, the Fort of St. George is fraught with innumerable associations of our amity with the chieftains of the house of Bíjnágar; in the Western Presidency, Surát, originally the scene of a commercial factory, was the key to more extensive political alliances in this country.

There must be a noble anxiety felt by every vigorous mind in visiting Surát to ascertain some knowledge of the early English who settled hither. Of charters, treaties, and voyages, 'BRUCE'S *Annals of the East India Company*' afford the most ample information, along with every necessary detail in regard to shipments, expectancies, and the *et cetera* attendant upon like engagements, formed by such an Association as the one named; and who, in their career, have exemplified the power and position to be derived by a body of men originating their purpose in what was termed "a corporation trading to the East Indies"—the merchant princes of modern history, rivalling similar characters in the Tyre and Carthage of past memories. Among the very few works—musty, or decayed, or to be found in very incomplete condition—treating upon our first intercourse with this quarter; to instance,

* Boughton of *Surát* is the misnomer constantly employed. Assálat Khán, a nobleman holding high official position in the Mogul Court, desired the residence of a physician at Agra: the English factors applied to their President at Surát, and in the absence of other professional skill that could be spared, Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the Company's Ship *Hopewell* (then lading at Swálí for Europe,) was selected for the purpose. Vide BRUCE'S *Annals*.

the pamphlets of *Christopher Farewell, Best, Peyton,* and others (the collection by *Purchas* is rare, and to be found only in a few libraries in Europe; the compilations of *Churchill* and *Pinkerton* have rescued many valuable narratives from oblivion): the most able and lucid, and from the pen of one who has not unjustly been denominated the Thucydides of Oriental History, is, "ORME'S *Establishment of the English Trade at Surát*"—this curious tract was left unfinished, and even the fragment is procurable with difficulty.* Other information of the kind to be acquired is scanty enough; and for all that can be gleaned of a promising nature, one is indebted to tourists—whose labours require to be perused with judgment, and their opinions received with caution. Foremost is *Edward Terry,* Chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe's embassy: he furnishes a quaint account not unworthy of merit; his portrait, with its hieroglyphical characters, is in itself a gem. Sir *Thomas Roe's* work again, allows minor detail to emerge only as accessaries to the main purpose of his visit—the political mission held from his monarch to the Court of the Great Mogul in behalf of the East India Company. Next, we have the terse yet elaborate production of Mr. (subsequently Sir Thomas) *Herbert,*—afterwards the accomplished attendant on King Charles the First, a few years previous to that unfortunate monarch's execution; but his remarks regarding our situation do not exceed a dozen lines of a voluminous publication, treating upon a voyage from the Cape of Good Hope south and west, to China north and east. Then, one *Albert Mandleslo,* a German adventurer; who separating himself from the embassy of the Duke of Holstein for Muscovy and Persia—joined an English merchant at Ormus, embarked for Surát, and without a fraction in pocket, contrived to visit our factories in India and the Mogli

* This amiable author—ROBERT ORME—was born at Anjengo while under the Bombay Presidency; it is also the birth-place of Sterne's *Eliza,* whose affecting story still wins commiseration.

Court: at the expense of the English. Mandleslo, though sometimes prolix, at other times pedantic, is upon the whole a faithful narrator; he has confined himself closely to facts; and to the present time they do not savour less of truth, though much of the splendour he witnessed (in 1638) has been swept from off these territories. *Tavernier*, the lapidary, (for his visit appears to have been impelled by the collection of precious stones,) who was at Surát at various intervals between 1642 and 1666, had his thoughts bent more upon his speculations than the progress of European influence: yet there are frequent glimpses of an active mind not a tacit spectator of scenes and circumstances.* *Ovington's* work is now to be rarely encountered; affording a happy mixture of strange jargon and vivacity—yet of no little value from local historical interest: he visited Surát in 1668-9 in the vessel which conveyed the accession to the throne of England of William and Mary of glorious memory. *Tieffenthaler*, in his anxiety for luminous and classical detail, falls into grave errors which render his work dangerous but in the hands of those capable of discerning at every successive step the ground upon which they tread. *Bernier* (arrived at Surát in 1655, and left India, at the latest, about 1667) in his employment near the Imperial throne, had merely the leisure and opportunity to investigate the political situation of the government he served, and to acquaint the European world with the first truthful view of the Mogul power. The labours of *Thevenot*, not Melchizedek but his nephew, (arrived at Surát 6th Nov. 1665, went into the interior and returned in February 1667, when he embarked for Persia) evince the talents of a man of high ability in quest of information—partaking, too, of that liveliness of expression peculiar to

* Many of the errors of this traveller have been ably exposed and corrected by Philip Baldeus, (a Dutchman, and as he denominates himself) Minister of the Word of God in Ceylon. For an English translation of the Amsterdam edition of 1672, see CHURCHILL'S *Collection of Travels*, Vol. iii.

the French school: his work is both entertaining and instructive; it does not investigate men, manners, and things, quite so astutely as it lay within his compass to perform, yet his volumes will afford gratification for a perusal—they read more like a romance than the active realities of life. He is said to have been assisted in his undertakings by his countrymen—the Capuchin friars—who settled here. Most of the productions of the *Jesuits* were safely hoarded in their conventual repertories—but where now, is an enigma perhaps not worth the solution. The works of *Carré*, secretary to the famous M. Caron, and of *Dellon* the physician, I have not been so fortunate as to meet: nor yet the valuable papers of *de Graaf*, the Dutch Surgeon, who had visited the East at frequent intervals during seven and forty years. Dr. *Fryer's* account is largely mixed up with the annoyances encountered by his patron—Sir Abraham Shipman—in the recovery of the island of Bombay from the King's troops who had taken possession of it; and commercial transactions in Persia, whither he had to proceed on one occasion. The title-page of a couple of octavo volumes published at Edinburgh in 1727—'A new account of the East Indies, being the observations 'and remarks of Captain *Alexander Hamilton*, who spent his time there 'from the year 1688 to 1723; trading and travelling by sea and land, to 'most of the countries and islands of commerce and navigation, between 'the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Japan'—introduces us to another individual whose work deserves notice for the important information he gives respecting the conduct of the early Governors of Bombay; added to the circumstance of his having endured imprisonment with Mr. John Vaux (subsequently Governor of Bombay,) in consequence of the piracies committed by the noted Avery. Hamilton's remarks will be found valuable even now—though not conveyed in the most classic style, nor so choice at times in the lively anecdote with which his work is interspersed:

yet his own apology will best apply here—"And we Britons, who either go voluntarily or are sent to Neptune's schools in our youths, to learn politeness and eloquence, very rarely meet with Apollo's bright sons or disciples to instruct us in the knowledge of languages, or of the state of all nations, but of that one we are born in, and that but imperfectly too. That may be one reason among many, why we appear so simple and awkward in dressing up the observations we make of foreign countries that we travel in; but I dare say, nobody will, or can, be so ill-natured as to be offended, when he sees a plowman take out his mistress to dance a minuet *á la mode*, because his performances are not easily squared with a dancing master's rules and figures, which reflection makes me hope, that this my virgin essay will be civilly treated by the unprejudiced lovers of travel." The *Abbé Raynal*, at once antiquarian and rhetorician, is the most unfortunate guide upon European relations with the East; and an otherwise valuable history is distorted by a fertile fancy, which with fairy sport than a regard for truth—conjures and associates, facts and circumstances. *Olof Toreen*, the Chaplain of the Swedish ship *Gothic Lion*, bestows but half a dozen pages of a duodecimo volume respecting his visit in 1750. Between 1755 and the five years following, appeared in the East *Anquetil du Perron*; during his stay at Surát he was eminently successful in the purpose of his voyage—a collection of the spiritual philosophy of the Pársís; impelled by literary zeal in his tours, he appears to have had little time or inclination to bestow upon other and passing points. *Grose* fortunately supplies a detailed statement of matters in 1759; but his work is rare—the only copy I have seen was lately in the Station-Library. The celebrated *Niebuhr* was here in 1764, and his remarks are scanty compared to the more elaborate notice given the cavern fanes of Elephanta, and architecture in any form that he had seen. The narrative of M. de *Pages*, a Captain in the French navy,

who visited Surát in 1769-70, is merely remarkable for the account given of his own singular doings, and the ascetic's life he attempted for a season with injury to his health: his observations have already been deemed hasty, irregular, and injudicious, by his own countrymen. Not long after followed *Abraham Parsons,* the British Consul of Scanderoon in Asiatic Turkey; his stay at Surát extended from 28th November 1777 to 8th January 1788: his journal is simple, artless, and entertaining, in a volume reciting his movements in Asia and Africa. Last of all this train, is the Dutch Admiral *Stavorinus;* a plethoric old gentleman, with his bile constantly launched at our countrymen, but a man of shrewd observation and of a philosophical turn of mind—the only one to be discovered, who, more than three quarters of a century back, tested the dryness of the Gujarát atmosphere by chemical means. *James Forbes,* the author of the 'Oriental Memoirs,' was a cotemporary of Stavorinus; his work abounds in classical and scriptural associations applied to the scenes of his sojourn—much of this extraneous matter has been expunged in a later edition of the memoirs, published by his daughter. All these have been quoted, and their expressions questioned, as it suited later historians; and while we have Sir John Malcolm and Montgomery Martin disputing immaterial dates—we have Walter Hamilton, Mills, and Thornton, at variance upon more important points, and the precedents of all appear alike. *Auber's* 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India' is a luminous yet happy resumé of affairs from the time of Clive to the period of its publication; but of Surát it makes no allusion than the scene of one of our early Eastern Factories. About the close of the last century appeared a happy compilation styled 'Views of Hindostan,' by *Thomas Pennant;* comprising within its limits a variety and solidity of information rarely to be found in similar volumes; though a little of the fabulous pervades throughout, it commands attention for elabo-

rate quotations and a studious care in the perusal and citation of almost all publications bearing even the most remote allusion to India; Pennant's Collection is now scarce. Among other like productions are '*Murray's* Discoveries in Asia' and '*Duncan's* Modern Traveller in India:'* the latter from its very designation conveys an idea of the range of its observations—the former, though more extensive in its sweep, communicates very desirable biography of several of the early tourists in, and voyagers to, the East; the latter is a digest of the travels of Bishop Heber, Lord Valentia, and many other like distinguished names—the former communicates the result of research into volumes, centuries in date. To the foregoing authorities I am wholly indebted for the following sketch of the origin, the trials, and eventual supremacy, of the English Power in Surát.

The establishment of Factories in the Gulf of Cambay appears to have sprung at the suggestion of the settlers at Bantam, who had ascertained very shortly after their residence in the Eastern Archipelago of the 'cloths and stuffs of Surratta and Cambaya:' and one of their letters to the Court of Committee of the East India Company, defines the nature of the speculation intended, which was to consist in a profitable exchange adventure to be made with the Indian manufactures purchased at their looms, and bartered for the pepper and finer spices of the Moluccas.† Presuming that the Directors had anticipated the wishes of their subordinates from private resources, an expedition was fitted out comprising the *Hector* and *Ascension*, laden with 'lead, iron, and some treasure,' whose ultimate Oriental destination was of course—Bantam: Captain Richard Hawkins was

* There are several works of this class; one—and a valuable set—in Dr LARDNER'S *Cabinet Library*: I might name many others, but it would meet no purpose.

† Letter from the *Factors of Bantam*, under date 4th December, 1608.

made General of the fleet; but the *Ascension* had a month's start of her partner. The *Hector* (with Hawkins on board) arrived off Swálí on the 20th of August 1608.* The *Ascension* made her appearance off the coast, a year afterwards, from her cruise to the Arabian Gulf; and the first communication from her crew announced her a wreck. Hawkins upon his arrival was politely invited on shore by the local authorities of Surát, and he remarks—'after their barbarous manner I was kindly received.' A reference was obliged to be made to the Viceroy of Gujarát (then at Cambay) for the purpose of trade; and upon a favourable reply, goods were sold and purchased: the *Hector* was entrusted to one Marlow to prosecute her voyage for Priaman and Bantam, while Hawkins remained back to proceed to the Mogul Court to win the good-will of the Emperor, and William Finch with three or four English domestics were left at Surát 'to sell the remainder of the goods that had been landed.' Prior to Marlow's departure, the *Hector's* long-boat with seven and twenty men were captured by the Portuguese: the first-fruits of that bitter feeling which continued between the rival European powers for more than half a century. Hawkins left Surát for Agra on the 1st February 1609: to have met the Mogul potentate; to have entered his service, still retaining the assumed dignity of an Ambassador from the British Crown; to have married a maiden and a Christian from the Imperial Seraglio; to have resorted to subterfuge in conveying his wife as far as Cambay, where stratagem further assisted him in putting her and himself on board of an English vessel in the Gulf, on

* Hawkins' *Narrative.* Murray's *Discoveries in Asia.* Unfortunately the history of this period is rendered complex by conflicting dates and facts. Bruce, the Hydrographer to the Leadenhall magnates, upon the authority of archives to which he had access, assigns the first Surát voyages to 1612; while Orme, perhaps upon equally efficient basis, and Hawkins upon his own shewing, gives the first date; later historians, too, take the earlier date and in the present instance, I need scarcely do otherwise than pursue the almost established precedent.

the 26th June 1612. Such is the personal history of Hawkins, of whom no further mention is made in connexion with the country; the result of his commercial mission, merely communicated the verbal assurance of Jahángír that his countrymen would find protection, without the least formal engagement or privilege in behalf of English trade. Finch joined Hawkins at Agra, and afterwards proceeded homewards *vîa* Láhor and Persia. Captain Sharpleigh and some of the crew of the *Ascension* had been to the Mogul capital and returned to Cambay, while Middleton's fleet lay in the Gulf, by which they obtained passages for their father-land: others, again, had entered the employment of native princes; indeed, even in the time of Courten's adventures, it was not unusual for Englishmen in embarrassed circumstances to embrace Muhammadanism to prevent them from starving.

Sir Henry Middleton (who with Hawkins had first sailed round the Cape under that renowned pioneer in Anglo-Eastern history—JAMES LANCASTER *) arrived off Swálí on the 26th September 1611, with his fleet, composed of the *Darling*, the *Trade's Increase*, and *Peppercorn;* the only Englishman at the time at Surát was Bangham, a joiner of the *Ascension*. Sir Henry in his intercourse with the native officials succumbed to a number of impositions, † 'fearing harm to Hawkins': so soon, however, as Middleton's

* Independent of the original efforts of the Portuguese, the connexion of other European Powers with Hindusthán is singularly enough indebted to intrepid individuals: the English trade arose at the suggestion of *Lancaster*, who had visited Calicut in a subordinate capacity on board of a Portuguese vessel—that of the Dutch was prompted by *Cornelius Houtman*, a native of Amsterdam who had similarly come out hither, and had involved himself in pecuniary difficulties, for which he was thrown into prison at Lisbon, from whence he made overtures to his countrymen upon the understanding that his debts were to be discharged;—that of the French to *Caron*, who had grown grey in the service of the Dutch Factory in the Eastern Archipelago, and for whom he had done important service at Japan—the indifference, if not contumely, with which he was met upon his return to Bantam, led him to communicate his experience to his own nation, and to found their Association with the East.

† They 'visited the ships, made bargains, and cheated at the scales'—ORME. 'The *Moors* must be carefully watched in their measures and weights, without which they will play you the same game as Godjani-

pecuniary arrangements were concluded with the citizens of Surát, his Agent was ordered to quit the town, with a violent threat that neither trade nor factory would be permitted the English. Sir Henry Middleton left Swálí road on the 9th February 1612: and for the indignities he sustained in this quarter, he seized the Mogul fleet off Mocha, some months afterwards, and had it ransomed.

On the 5th of September, 1612, the *Dragon* and *Hosiander* anchored in the Gulf of Cambay. Captain Best was the Commodore of this Eighth Voyage (not to Surát, but the East) according to the records. of the East India Company. He was accompanied by Mr. Kerridge—'one of the principal supercargoes, to open new sources of trade'—who stationed himself after his business arrangements with Surát were completed, at Agra: Canning, who died on his way to the Imperial Court shortly afterwards—attributed to unfair means: Aldworth and Withington, who in November of the year following, proceeded in company to visit the marts of Baroch, Jambusír, Barodá, Nariád, and Ahmedábád—Withington from thence prosecuted his journey to the right bank of the Indus, and returned to Surát, subsequently went to Agra to arrange the affairs of the noted Mildenhall, and of whom further trace is lost; Aldworth died as Commercial Resident at Ahmedábád some time in [illegible]ember 1615, in which he was succeeded by Kerridge upon Sir Thomas Roe's appearance at Ajmír: and Andrew Strachey, who was to convey the reports overland to Europe, had been poisoned in his progress to Agra by the Portuguese Jesuits; at all events they have been pointedly charged with it. Kerridge upon arrival at Surát appears to have met with a cordial reception from both the Goverment and trading community:—'having obtained permission to land some broad-cloths, lead,

san and Godjaassan did many years ago to Sir *Henry Middleton*, an *English* knight, who put them aboard his ship till they had given him full satisfaction.'—BALDEUS' *Travels in the East*.

iron, and quicksilver, he procured in exchange for them such Surat cloth and goods as had been recommended, to be suited for the purchase of pepper and spices at Acheen.'

Shortly after this transaction, the Portuguese seized an English purser and his attendant, with the property they were in charge; Captain Best saddled the transaction upon the local powers, and secured one of the Mogul fleet, until indemnity was given: the native authorities smarted under this treatment, but the English were immoveable until definite terms of transaction were resolved upon, and for this purpose, the Viceroy of Ahmedábád was obliged to make personal interference—when, on the 21st of October 1612, a formal treaty was executed between Best and *Shaik Suffee* (as he is called), ultimately confirmed by an Imperial *firmán* under date the 25th January following, delivered to the senior merchant at Surát. In the interval, however, (on the 11th of December) Best had received with considerable pomp a royal letter affording assent to the proceedings. The terms of the treaty were narrow and precise, but fully meeting the exigency of the time: by the third article, it provided the residence at the Mogul Court of an Ambassador *for* the King of England.*

During the month of October, 1612, was fought the first naval battle in the Gulf of Cambay between the English and Portuguese—when the latter had a frigate sunk and lost eighty of their crew; of the former only two men were killed. In November similar encounters were continued: Best always proving victorious. The constant annoyances given the Mogli by the Portuguese—in damaging and capturing their vessels of war and merchant craft, in burning and plundering the cities of Gogha and Baroch, without the least adequate protection against these sanguinary assaults,—led Best's exploits to be regarded with unconcealed delight, and gave the

* Vide Appendix. A.

English such importance among the natives, that 'protection to their factors and trade was readily granted.' Availing of this favourable impression abroad, an ineffectual application was made at the time, 'to obtain the King's license for a piece of ground on which to build a Factory, notwithstanding the offer of fifteen hundred rupees as purchase money:' but that it was not long subsequently (Bruce has it in the following month—*December*) may be inferred from Mr. Kerridge soliciting a *firmán* personally of the Great Moghul to fortify the Factory at Surát 'against any violence which the Portuguese might in their opposition to the English nation be disposed to offer.'

Best's departure from the Gulf of Cambay occurred on the 17th December 1612, leaving ten persons (including those already named) at Surát, with "a stock of £4000 to purchase goods, or provide an investment for him, to be taken on board upon *his return from Acheen*"—which return never occurred. By the prudence, the policy, the courage, and firmness, of this valiant merchant-mariner, was laid the first power of the English in Surát, and the dread with which the Surthís at times looked upon them.

On the 25th January 1613, the Factors of Surát, writing their Commercial report to the Court of Directors, remark, that Surát 'was the best situation in India to vend English goods, particularly broad-cloths, kersies, quicksilver, lead and vermillion, to be exchanged for Indigo, calicoes, cotton-yarn, and drugs; and added a list of such goods as might annually be disposed of—*viz.*, about four thousand pieces of broad-cloths, sword-blades, knives, and looking-glasses; and that toys and English bull-dogs should be sent as presents; but explained that this trade could only be protected by stationing five or six ships in the river of Surát, to defend the Factory and trade against the Portuguese.'

By the 12th October 1614 appeared Captain Nicholas Downton with

a fleet of four ships—the *Merchant's Hope* (200 tons), *Hector* (300 tons), the *New Year's Gift* (600 tons), and *Solomon* (of 500 tons). The succour was timely, for the Governor of Surát had been affording annoyance to the English residents; and from a want of courtesies,—which might have existed with Downton,—the Native Chief was led by a little intrigue on the part of Jesuit priests, to imprison the Factors: explanations soon after ensued, and matters terminated amicably. Downton appears to have had the authority to ascertain the proceeds of the investment entrusted by Captain Best; the result is given as—'sixty bales of indico, and eleven bales of cotton-yarn, not in the whole exceeding twenty thousand rupees. Money and goods for sale to a much greater amount had been left with Aldworth, but the produce had been expended in journies, maintenance, residences, equipages, and presents.'

On the 20th January 1615, Downton came to a naval engagement with the Portuguese armament off the bar of Surát, and under command of Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, the Viceroy of Goa, who hoisted his flag as Admiral on board the *Todos Santos* of eight hundred tons: the Portuguese were defeated with the loss of three hundred and fifty men. Prudential measures assisted the English, and their success obtained them the support of the Surát Government, whose officers at Swáli were directed to give every assistance, and 'even sent timber from the city to replace the main-mast of the *Hope* which had been destroyed by fire.' The Portuguese attempted at various times to display their venom, but no important affray occurred: and on the 10th of March—Downton, with his fleet, sailed for the Eastern Archipelago.*

* Captain Downton died at Bantam on the 6th of August following:—"lamented, admired, and unequalled"—adds ORME.

It was the custom at this period, and for better than a century afterwards, to propitiate the power and generosity of the ruling dynasty of Hindusthán with costly and rare gifts; and one of these missions—of no little importance at this early stage of our proceedings at Surát, particularly in obtaining *firmáns*, or patents of authority,—was now conducted by Mr. Edwardes, who had arrived in India with Downton's fleet. His charge for the Emperor, and ministers of the Crown, is described as—'cloths, pictures, glasses, and sword-blades; a letter from King James of England, and his picture:' nor was the opportunity lost to win the good-will of the favourite and capricious Sultáná Nurmahál, celebrated in the history of her husband. The result of this politic speculation on the present occasion was 'a phirmaund directed to the governors of Suratta and Cambaya, allowing the English a trade in his (Jahángír's,) dominions.' Mr. Edwardes when undertaking this embassy, had solicited of the President of Surát that he might be invested with some dignity or designation becoming his capacity and entwined with his Sovereign's name, to permit of a favourable notice from the Eastern Monarch,—but, whether the senior Factor sanctioned the appellation entreated, or that it was at all used, is unrecorded by European narrative; though in a general letter of the Factors to the Court of Directors, they make mention of having dispatched him *as their agent* to Agra with presents to the Emperor &c. Mr. Edwardes' suggestion on this occasion, and the experience of those who had visited the Mogul Court, induced the East India Company to seek the assistance of royalty in a diplomatic mission, where the relations of the two countries might be clearly defined, and which would be more acceptable to Jahángír and Oriental pageantry than the course hitherto pursued. In compliance with the petition of the East India Company, King James the First granted his patent to Sir Thomas Roe as Ambassador to the Great Mogul, *or King of India*, under date the

14th January 1615. Sir Thomas embarked in the *Lion** (Captain Newport) in March following; arrived off Swálí on the 18th, and landed at Surát on the 24th September of the same year, 'under a general salute and the best apparel of the ships, accompanied by all their officers, the Factors, his own retinue, and one hundred men under arms.' On his appearance at the Custom-house, the native functionaries insisted upon examining his person—urging, that his position, which the English would fain aggrandize, was no more than that assumed by others of the Factors, who had proceeded heretofore to Agra, and styled themselves Ambassadors: but by dint of douceur and threat, Sir Thomas and four of his important attendants were exempted the humiliating search: it ought, however, to be observed, that this was a system favoured by the local authorities, along with an unscrupulous examination into luggage, by means of which they obtained valuable articles at indifferent prices; and their subordinates did not allow such opportunities to escape without the appearance of gold, or what was deemed by them equally substantial. Choice, and taste, and cupidity, were at work on these occasions, and all the older travellers complain of this unhappy means of extortion.

The Emperor was duly advised of Sir Thomas Roe's arrival, and ordered becoming respect being paid the Ambassador; upon which he left Surát on the 30th October. He was received well at the onset—his stipulations and complaints noticed, and matters progressed well for a season; next he was cajoled—treated with impropriety, and left Ajmír: upon the whole effecting much for his countrymen though under adverse circumstances—which were rendered not a little embarrassing by the cool bearing of the Surát Factors, of which he complains very bitterly, and perhaps justly:

* The *Expedition* (Captain Walter Peyton), the *Dragon*, and the *Peppercorn*, formed part of this fleet, of which the *Lion* " as one :—Captain Keeling the General.

'They cannot abide I should understand or direct them.'—writes Sir Thomas—"If they resolve anything in their opinion for your profit, I will 'effect the court-part; but you will find in my letters and journal how they '*use* me; which doubtless at first was served by *some jealousy of yours*, 'which will cost you dearly.' Sir Thomas Roe had obtained *firmáns* permitting trade at the various Factories then established in Gujarát, and satisfaction for a number of grievances: but his own counsel appears to have been, to make Surát the great entrepôt, to have subordinate agencies at Cambay and Baroch, (where the best cloths were then manufactured) and to do away with the other establishments, which imposed greater expence to equivalent profit. In whatever light this embassy may be regarded politically—its issue may have been more important if greater unity of feeling and co-operation of purpose existed; as matters have progressed, it only furnishes an epoch in Anglo-Indian history.

On the 25th September 1616 arrived off Swálí, the *Charles, Unicorn, James,* and *Globe*—doubtless the identical vessels seen by Mr. Herbert, along with other two vessels; of whose burthen he roundly observes—"three of a thousand tons each, and three of seven hundred each:"—so rapidly and sensibly had trade progressed hither. Terry, who was shortly afterwards Chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, came out in the *Charles,* which he calls a—"new built goodly ship of a thousand tons; the *Unicorn,* a new ship likewise, and almost of as great a burthen; the *James,* a great ship too;" the *Globe*—a lesser, adds Orme.

In the Commercial report for the past year, the Surát Factors evince a keener mercantile experience and to be better aware of the more profitable imports: they observe—"quicksilver (should the market not be overstocked) would sell to advantage, also good crooked sword-blades, light colored broad-cloths, elephant's teeth, lead, vermillion, corals and pearls;

but that tin (from its being nearly as good in the country as that brought from England) and Muscovy hides would not sell."

About the 10th July of this year a Dutch vessel was driven by storm into the Gulf of Cambay, where it was wrecked a little below Swálí*—the cargo saved was profitably disposed of, and the major portion of the crew proceeded overland to their Factory at Masulipatam, ten persons remaining at Surát. This laid the foundation of the Netherlands connexion hither, and greater success attended their Commercial operations from the larger capital of the Dutch East India Company to that of the English Association, the political influence held by the members of the former in their national council, and a frugal economy in the employment of their funds. According to STAVORINUS, their first Director, Peter Van den Brocke, left in this year the Senior Merchant, Peter Gillissen, and three others, for the management of their affairs. Their first firmán is dated 1618.

During Sir Thomas Roe's stay in India he was frequently opposed to the wild project (as he deemed) of opening an alliance with Persia, and introducing her silks into Europe vîa Surát: the merit of such a scheme was only to be regarded in its relative profitable value to purchasing the same crude material in the Turkey market; and this, of all other expressions perhaps, hurt the vanity of the Factors of Surát, and occasioned their reserved deportment towards the Ambassador. In the following year, the precarious situation of trade at Surát led Sir Thomas to alter his opinion for a season. The speculation, however, was a favorite one with the Factors here, and appears to have engrossed their notice for the next half century. The Dutch too had their attention directed to this quarter of South-Western Asia—so that the Anglo-Surát trade was actually gaining ground, while the scene of theoretical action was beyond it. In November 1620, two of the Company's

* BALDEUS calls her the *Middleburgh*; and provides the Castle of Surát with her cannon.

ships (the *Hart* and *Eagle*) proceeded from Surát to the Persian Gulf, and had a stout engagement (joined by the *London* and *Roebuck*, which had come in thither) with the Portuguese—whom they vanquished. In 1622, the Dutch commenced an open piracy upon the vessels of Mogul merchants of Surát; and the want of acquaintance with the distinctive ensigns of the different European powers resorting to Gujarát led to the English being charged with these lawless measures: in consequence, almost simultaneously, the agents at Agra, Surát, Ahmedábád, and other factories, were thrown into prison, and their property seized, in compensation for the losses complained of; by means of bribes and presents an explanation was effected, and the onus cast upon the legitimate quarter—not, however, before considerable personal privation and pecuniary loss were sustained by the English. Upon the first impulse, while still smarting under these unwarrantable grievances, it was proposed to balance the evils endured by attacking the Jaddah fleet, but this measure was happily abandoned afterwards. The Factors and their servants had suffered seven months' incarceration; and upon their release the annual shipping had left: and though the kindest proffers were made by the folks at Dabul, they could not leave Surát, even if the intention were entertained, before the anticipated appearance of home intelligence. The massacre of their countrymen at Amboyna, which now reached them, cast a further gloom upon the English circle of Surát. In 1626, the English and Dutch had parted from the few months previously arranged aggressive alliance against the Portuguese; not that this mutual purpose was operated upon by esoteric reasons, but the desire expressed to share with the English the island of Bombaya (as old MSS. would have it) in rooting its first European victors and occupants. The political necessity which dictated this step on the part of the English arose from a knowledge that security under the Mogli Government, or against local intervention, could only be

effected by the presence of a fort and proper guards—'either for the safety of the Company's property, or the permanency of their trade.' On the 12th December 1628, the Factors of Surát announce to their Honorable Masters of having dispatched a fleet under Captain Swanley to act against the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf—that one of the five vessels conveyed an Ambassador from the Mogul Emperor to the Shahái of Persia; and that the Commodore was instructed to seize all vessels on his return along the Malabar coast not appertaining to a port of the Imperial monarch—the prizes being appropriated in one-sixth to the Captain and ships' crews, and the remainder to be carried to the Company's account. The assistance given the local government in transmitting its Minister to Persia had elicited a fresh firmán, permitting a 'reprisal on all Portuguese ships, both at sea and in port, within the Mogul's dominions"—this flattering notice encouraged the Factors to write home for extensive supplies of stock and bullion for a stirring trade.

In 1630, the factors request that "rich scarlet and violet coloured cloth of gold might be sent as a present for the Mogul, which would be an inducement to his great officers to purchase similar articles, sales of which would yield considerable profit." In September of the same year arrived the usual annual fleet, comprising in this instance five vessels, and encountered the Portuguese armament of nine ships and two thousand soldiers laying off Swálí, under command of Don Francisco Căctano, or Contĭnho, the Lusitanian Admiral. The Portuguese had made extraordinary demands on this occasion of the Surát authorities, along with the expulsion of the English from their territories,—in the expectation of destroying the foreign European powers, and securing the Indian trade wholly;—indeed the Portuguese movements now were with a view of re-establishing their power in the East in its original strength. A smart naval action followed between

the English and Portuguese, which did not terminate decisively; the English were, however, in defiance of the obstacles thrust in their way, enabled to land their cargoes. Shortly after, several smart skirmishes ensued, both on land and water, between the rival combatants: the English always proving successful. It is to one of these engagements that Alexander Hamilton alludes, and writes from the account verbally furnished him, as the sequel will shew. ' I avail myself verbatim of his narrative. 'When the English first settled a Commerce in this country * * they were held in great esteem; but the Portuguese pretending a right to that trade solely, disturbed the English in theirs, murdering their people, and making prizes of all ships and vessels they could overcome. One season the English had eight good large ships riding at Swáli. * * The Portuguese, thinking it a fit time to give a deadly blow to the English commerce, came with a fleet of six large ships, ten small, and ten or twelve half gallies, and anchored to the northward of the English in a narrow channel not a musquet-shot wide, and a tide generally of six or seven miles an hour. The Portuguese landed near three thousand men, and seized some carts laden with the company's goods. The English could not bear the insults they daily received, held a council, wherein it was resolved to land eight hundred men out of the ships, and attack the Portuguese while they were lulled in security of their own strength and numbers, and if they were overpowered, that those left on board the English should try if they could cut a Portuguese ship's cables that lay near them, and her driving on board of another might, with the force of the tide, put them all aground on the shore, or a sand-bank they lay very near to. Accordingly, by break of day, the English were all landed, and every ship's crew led by their own Commander. As they had conjectured, so it fell out: the English were among the Portuguese before they could get in a posture of defence, and put

them in confusion. Those on board had done as they were ordered: one being cut loose, soon made all the rest run aground, and most of them lost, especially the great ships. The little English army pursued the Portuguese, and killed many in their flight; but at a point of land about three miles from the ships the Portuguese made a stand, and rallied; but the little victorious army soon made them take a second time to their heels, and so the English got an entire victory, with small loss, for there were not twenty killed on the English side, but above fifteen hundred of the Portuguese. In Anno 1690 I was on the field of battle, and saw many human sculls and bones lying above ground. And the story of the battle I had from an old Parsee, who was born at a village called Tamkin, within two miles of the field, and could perfectly remember the action. It is to be regretted that we are not in possession of more information, though traditional, of the like mould.'

In the Commercial speculations of 1632 the Surát factory sustained heavy losses upon their cloth investments to the Eastern Archipelago; the Gujarát material being found unequal to a competition with similar stuffs manufactured on the Coromandel coast, which appears to have better suited that market. It was the custom hitherto for the Factors to purchase large quantities of indigo at Agra, and by a long, a tedious, and hazardous land-carriage to bring it hither, from whence it was shipped; the enormous expence of transit, together with the indifferent rates the staple realized in London, and only by gradual sale, led their attention to be directed to the Ganges, and a firmán was subsequently obtained from the Mogul Monarch granting a settlement at Pipley, which contributes the occasion, and precise period, of our connexion with Eastern Hindusthán. Shortly afterwards, the Council of Surát were placed in the humiliating position of acknowledging their extensive interest in private speculation, to the detriment of the

Company's trade, which had been exposed in consequence of a difference existing among their members. Early in 1634, the English are found employing a little political finesse to promote their Commercial schemes; and in June following, the Viceroy of Goa, and Mr. Methwold, President of the Factory of Surát, signed the terms of a pacific treaty, which was to continue in force six months after the receipt of intelligence in India of the determination of their respective governments upon the subject: at the ratification of this compact at Goa, Captain Weddel, the Commodore of the fleet of the season, appears to have been present. The object of the English in this truce is thus conveyed in a letter of the President and Council of Surát to the Court of Committee of the East India Company—'to procure pepper on the Malabar Coast, which would form a productive article.' The convention was solemnly concluded on the 29th January 1636, when the Chiefs of Goa and Surát were in possession of the favorable views of their different Crowns upon the previous proceeding. Under this pleasing aspect of things, the Factors of Surát proposed to limit the annual fleet for their quarter to four ships, two of which were to lade the return cargo at Goa, and the others either at some Portuguese port or at their own Factories upon the Coromandel coast. Immediately afterwards, in prosecution of their measures, four pinnaces were built—two at Damán and two at Bassín—for improving the coast trade, and to permit of the Factory having their own local craft promptly to call in seasons of difficulty.

About this time sprung in London a rival association at the instigation of Weddel—who has been already mentioned—in connexion with Sir William Courten and Endymion Porter (one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber to King Charles II.,) which for some years proved eminently successful, but at length (in 1700) emerged into the older establishment. During, however, their isolated interests, the first Company, on its alarm at

this infringement upon their presumed and legitimate rights, dispatched instructions from London to the President of Surát to refuse either 'assistance or encouragement to the *interlopers,*' as they were denominated. Part of Courten's first fleet, comprising two ships, under command of Captains Weddel and Mountney, arrived off Swálí before the existence of their association was known to the Factors of Surát; beyond a letter forwarded from the Straits of Madagascar by Weddel, announcing his intended visit, and requesting support under the King's mandate of 30th March 1636, addressed to the *President of the London East India Company, in the Indies.* In the absence of authority from what was deemed their rightful controllers—a state of ignorance which they were not desirous to avow—and without declining succour, Mr. Methwold communicated the distress of the Factory from the sad effects of recent imprisonment of its inmates, besides the treasury having been mulcted in the sum of 1,75,000 rupees, in consequence of the depredations committed by an English vessel not in the Company's service upon some of the Mogul fleet in the Arabian Gulf. But it will be seen that in this instance, the addressé were the identical parties who had committed the piracies which led to the ills sustained by Methwold and his colleagues. It would seem, upon the arrival of one of the old Company's vessels in the English waters, information was given—'that one of Courten's vessels had seized on two junks belonging to Surát and Díu, had plundered them of their property, and exposed the crews to torture, and, that, as soon as this event was known at Surát, the President and Council had been seized and imprisoned, and the Company's property confiscated, to make good the losses of the owners of the junks.' In consequence of these calamities, the English trade of Surát for this year appears to have been paralyzed: yet of its principle of action now, there is record of advances being made to native merchants, weavers, and other artizans, and its capital so employed in seasons

of prosperity as to lead to the most flattering results. In times of famine—and this year, the country was so scourged—only added to the misfortunes of the Surát residents: but amid mishaps so astounding, it is pleasing to revert to the calm and dignified language of the Court of Directors to their President and Council hither—"Wee could wish that wee could vindicate the "reputaçon of our nation in these parts, and do ourselves right, for the loss "and damage our estate, in those parts, have susteyned; but of all these "wee must beare the burthen, and with patience sitt still, until we may find "these frowning tymes more auspicious to us and to our affayres."

Matters soon partook of a favourable turn locally, and during its benignant influence, there is an account extant, from the pen of a German traveller, which touches upon the position of the English administration at Surát, and other equally trivial details, but of an animating feature:—'None are so considerable for their settlement there as the Dutch and English. They have their lodges, their storehouses, their Presidents, their Merchants, and their Secretaries, and indeed have made it one of the most eminent cities for traffic in all the East. The English particularly have made it the main place of all their trading into the Indies, and have established there a President, to whom the Secretaries of all the other Factories are obliged to give an account. He manages affairs with the assistance of twenty or twenty-four merchants and officers; and hath under his superintendency the Factory of Agra, where they have a Secretary, accompanied by six persons; that of Ispahan, where they have a Secretary and seven or eight other merchants; that of Mausulipatam, with fifteen; that of Cambay, with four; and that of Dabul, with two persons; who are all obliged to come once a year to Souratta, there to give an account of their administration to the President.'—The writer continues—'The respect and deference which the other merchants have for the President was very remarkable, as also

the order which was there observed in all things, especially at Divine Service, which was said twice a-day, in the morning at six, and at eight at night, and on Sundays thrice. No person in the house but had his particular function, and their certain hours assigned them, as well for work as recreation.' On the 16th September 1638 intelligence was received of the arrival of two English ships off Swáli. The President being engaged with important business at the time, he dispatched two of the principal merchants to visit them. The first vessel they boarded was from England—the *Discovery*, of 700 tons, carrying twenty-eight guns, and a crew of one hundred and ninety men; Captain Menard in command. Her companion was the *Mary*, of 1200 tons burthen, and carrying forty-eight guns; she had lost her Commander off Aden, since when a merchant on board had taken charge of the vessel. Several days after, the President appeared at Swáli, when the masters of the vessels proceeded on shore to meet him, where they received 'a short discourse from him, exhorting them to shew their fidelity and compliance to their superiors during the time they should stay in the Indies; which done, he went into the boat to go a-board of the first ship, where they fired twelve guns on his arrival. After supper he went along with the whole company to the other, where they fired sixteen guns, besides those that were discharged at the drinking of the King of England's health, and those of some other persons of honor in that country. The two days following were spent in feasting, at which the commanders of the two ships treated the President, who afterward returned to Souratta. Shortly after arrived another English ship, called the *Swan*: she had been dispatched by the Secretary of Masulipatam for Persia, to obtain silks, but contrary winds had kept her four months at sea, which obliged her to put-in at Swáli.' At the same time arrived a Dutch vessel called the *Bolduc*, of 1400 tons—'the biggest that ever came out of the ports of Holland: it was twenty feet longer than the *Mary*, but not altogether so broad.' She was laden with Pepper and Spices, and was on her way homeward from Batavia.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESIDENT Fremlen and his administration—President Blackman—Incarceration of the Factors for liabilities incurred by English adventurers—Sir George Oxenden appointed President—Sívájí's attack on the City—Bombay made over to the E. I. Company and Sir George nominated Governor, &c —His death—Succeeded by Mr. Aungier—Consequences of a drunken frolic among a party of Dutch sailors—The Dutch armament under VAN GOEN; and President Aungier's spirited conduct—Result of Sívájí's forays on land and at sea—Aurungzib raises the Customs duty upon imports—Duplicity of the ruling Nawáb—Extensive trade of the English Factory—Sir John Child's accession to the Presidentship—Danish piracy—Bombay declared the seat of Govèrnment—The English permitted to coin local monies—Vexatious difficulties—Sir J. Child dies—His successors—Avery's piracy—Intestinal grievances—Union of the rival English Associations—Diplomatic feat in placing Mía Achan upon the Nawáb's gadí—General quiet—Briancourt's policy and imprisonment—Civil Establishment of Surát for 1782—Subsequent events—English manners; past and present.

MR. FREMLEN succeeded Mr. Methwold in the Presidentship on the 1st of January 1639, when the latter embarked for Europe. President Fremlen shortly after proceeded to Gámbrun, and upon a brief stay returned to Surát—reporting to the Court that the Persian market, though favourable for many Indian productions, was not the mart for European broad-cloths, which sold half again as well at Surát; and that the liabilities incurred by the Dutch to the Persians would prevent their exporting any silks until such debts were discharged, while the English trade was encouraged. Upon Fremlen's debarkation at Surát, he met the recently appointed delegate of the Mogul Emperor, who was instructed to arrive at some amicable arrangement with the Portuguese: in this proceeding the Nawáb sought the mediation of the English President, who gladly and fortuitously closed the measures solicited, since it gave the English an importance in the eyes of the local authorities. Between this period and 1644 the English were annoyed by the Dutch in reprisals at sea, undermining their trade by sales of imports at scarcely original cost, and purchases of local produce at extravagant rates; and in their domestic economy to have encountered no little annoyance from the lascars of Surát, whom they had employed on board of their coasting vessels, communicating to the native authorities the description and

amount of cargo carried either way. To prevent the aggressions of the former if they should extend to their immediate locality—the council of Surát had their attention directed to Rájápur as a settlement, and where a fortification could be erected; the idea with more happy times was abandoned. In 1649 the English factory discharged its liabilities to the native merchants of Surát, when its credit rose so high that one of the local bankers immediately advanced a loan of a lack of rupees, by means of which extensive purchases of indigo were made at Agra.* In March 1651, Captain Jeremy Blackman was appointed President of Surát, and invested with powers to suppress the speculations of the servants of the Company and of private adventurers within his control. Shortly after the receipt of intelligence from Europe of the projected hostilities between Holland and England, the English factors, dreading the attacks of the Dutch—from their superior naval force in the Indian seas—entered upon overtures which were favourably received by the Portuguese, and so communicated to the Court of Directors—that, for a fair remuneration, they might occupy Bássín fort until more favourable times. It was not long, before a Dutch fleet appeared off Swálí and left again without molesting the English—trade, however, was annihilated, by the existence of this feud, and the damped spirits of the factors only rose with the agreeable news to them of the victory gained off Portland by the English armament. During 1658 the London East India Company determined upon rendering the whole of their factories in India, Persia, and elsewhere, to be subordinate to the President and Council of Surát—an arrangement which they had abolished many years before, but now deemed it advisable to resuscitate: at the same time, increasing the salaries of their servants, to prevent the existence of private traffic. The

* Mr. Francis Breton was President at the time: his tombstone, of mean dimensions, and the inscription rude ly sculptured, may yet be seen in the English cemetery here.

death of Sháh Jahán had brought all his sons into the field as competitors or allies to the rival combatants for the vacant throne: the opportunity was seized by the authorities, who took possession of Surát, to pillage the town—the English, however, neither assisted nor acknowledged the various contending powers, but in their neutral position presented gifts to all. Not long after, extensive imports were made of ordnance of every variety, which were sold to advantage to different native chieftains. In 1661 the English were shut up in their factory by the Governor of Surát, for the undischarged debts of certain English adventurers to local traders—but it was thought that the measure was merely adopted as a plea for extorting money.

On the 19th March 1662, Sir George Oxenden was appointed "President and Chief Director of all their affairs at Surát, and all other their factories in the north parts of India, from Zeilon to the Red Sea, with a salary of £300 per annum, and a gratuity of £200 per annum for the purpose of removing all temptations to engage in that private trade which the Company had found so injurious to the sale of their exports, and the purchase of their investments." He arrived at the scene of his labours on the 16th August following. While the arrangement of the King's fleet for the recovery of the island of Bombay from the Portuguese authorities under the dowry of Katharine of Braganza was being effected, it was stipulated that the *Dunkirk*, *Mary Rose*, and *Conventine*, of the Royal Navy, should, after landing the troops at Bombay, proceed to Surát, and there take in the goods for Europe shipped by the President—the rate of freight agreed upon was from £18 to £22 per ton, according to the description of goods. The King's plenipotentiaries—Earl of Marlborough and Sir Abraham Shipman—having failed in their negotiations with the Portuguese Governor of Bombay, towards obtaining the island, moved with their armament to the Gulf of Cambay, where, upon application to Sir George Oxenden for the landing of

the troops, not only was this petition refused, but the fleet desired to take departure from Swálí road before its presence had excited any unwarrantable misgivings with the local authorities of Surát. During the attack of Sívájí on the City in January 1664, the English confined themselves within the walls of their factory, and called in the ships' crews to their protection; and that of the Company's property, valued at £80,000: their determined bearing not only led to the preservation of their own factory, but saved the Castle of Surát from the hands of the Maharátas. The appearance of the Mogul army shortly afterwards occasioned an amicable interview between the Muslím General and English Chief—when the former complimented the latter on the gallantry of his countrymen, and exempted them from the payment of custom dues for one year. Availing of this favorable feeling, Sir George dispatched a Mr. Goodier to the Viceroy of Gujarát, then at Baroch, and obtained from him the abatement of one per cent upon the rate of duties hitherto levied upon their commodities.*

Not long subsequently, it was discovered that the local Governor of Surát had evinced dissatisfaction at the English forming a garrison at Bombay; moreover, of Mr. Cooke, who had usurped the government, inviting native merchants to settle there under its protection. Matters thus progressed, when intelligence was received of Mr. Cooke having captured a *batelá* (native boat) of the Mogul Chief, which led to a warm discussion between the Nawáb and President, and ultimately to peremptory language being employed by the former, threatening the destruction of the English

* GRANT DUFF, in a note appended to this transaction in his invaluable and erudite History of the Maharátas, remarks—"In consequence of their generous defence of the property of others, Aurungzebe granted to the English a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surát." I have in this, as in many other instances, followed the mean of many conflicting opinions; if, however, any partiality exists, it is a leaning to the merits of the illustrious ORME. The *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, and HAMILTON'S narrative, will be found of no little interest to the student.

factory: Cooke, however, surrendered the vessel after a little parleying, but not without conveying to Sir George Oxenden, in haughty tone, his own superior authority as a King's officer, and the subordinate position of the Company's factors to his authority. In 1668 the garrison and island of Bombay were made over, under the mandate of the Home Government, to the President and Council of Surát, with directions "to engage any of the King's troops who might be disposed to enter into the Company's service." On the 24th August of this year Sir George was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, with power to nominate a Deputy Governor to reside on the island, but that its affairs should be rendered subordinate to the management of the President and Council of Surát. In the year previous, the factory of Surát had received a firmán from Aurangzíb, reducing the customs to be hereafter paid to two per cent.—On the 5th January 1669 Sir George Oxenden landed at Bombay, and assumed charge of his government. After arranging its economy, reporting to the Court of Directors its present and perspective resources, he left in the month following for the chief scene of his labours; appointing Captain Young as Deputy Governor, with a council for the direction of the island. In this year, the Court of Directors consolidated the administration in the East by a Council of eight persons, of which Sir George Oxenden was the Chief; five of whom were constantly to reside at Surát. On the 14th of July expired Sir George Oxenden, the first Governor of Bombay, amid the general regrets of his countrymen.

The Council of Surát under the circumstances, provisionally appointed Mr. Gerald Aungier his successor; an appointment in which he was subsequently confirmed by the Home Authorities. In consequence of Sívájí's second attack on Surat in 1670, commerce had to sustain a long and painful panic.* In July 1671, the fraças of a few Dutch seamen—who in a

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas.*

drunken frolic had insulted the domestics of a native functionary—led them for their immediate protection to seek refuge in the English factory; the Nawáb, indignant at this proceeding, insisted upon all Muhammadans and other subjects of the Mogul Government, in such service, instantly quitting the employment of Europeans—under pain of death. Shocked at the order promulgated, upon being made acquainted with it, Mr. Aungier—who was at the time on board of one of the shipping at Swálí—immediately debarked for his factory, where his presence was anticipated by the Dutch and French chiefs; when it was mutually resolved that a feint should be employed by abandoning their factories, which might induce the Governor to regret his offensive measure: the effect appears to have been justly anticipated, and after the lapse of a month the factors of the three nations returned to their respective localities in the city of Surát. Upon matters assuming their ordinary tone, Mr. Aungier left for Bombay, where he soon after learned of the formidable armament (twenty-two ships, having on board a thousand regular troops, and five thousand marines)—which slowly yet proudly sailed along the Malabar Coast, exhibiting its force, to the amazement and terror of the neighbouring chieftains, with the design of attacking and reducing Bombay—under Rickloffe van Goen, its Commodore, afterwards celebrated as Governor General of Netherlands India. The amicable relations which now subsisted between the French and English led the former to afford succour to their allies with the powerful fleet which had at the time, very fortuitously, arrived from the Persian coast, and of which the command had since been taken by M. Baron, the French Director of Surát, 'seeking and bringing protection.' Happily the voice of history communicates in language equally concise and striking, what is spared all but the repetition; that in this emergency "the English President, Mr. Aungier, exerted himself with the calmness of a philosopher, and the courage of a cen-

turion. He assembled, and, as far as the time allowed, disciplined, the militia, which, Christian and Pagan, were 1500 men, all equally black: the genuine European military were 400: of these troops he took the immediate command, as well as of the whole defence. The French ships and the Company's vessels were stationed close to the shore, leaving proper openings for the cannon of the fort. Rickloffe stood into the harbour in the night of the 29th February (1673), but kept at the bottom of the bay. The next day he came near enough to examine the dispositions of the defence, and then stood out to the western side of the island, off which his fleet kept plying and sounding for two days, and at length threatened a descent in the channel of Mahim, which separates the north side of the island from Salsette. Mr. Aungier marched thither with the troops, and displayed them in defiance along the shore; and Rickloffe was discouraged. He sailed for Surát, from whence four ships belonging to the English company, and richly laden, had been dispatched for England before his arrival."* It was not long before the Dutch armament quitted the Gulf of Cambay, without, strange to add, either affording conveyance or offence to the inmates of the English factory. Two years afterwards the various and singular and wayward movements of the Maharáta chieftain, which had for so long and so painfully affected the commerce of Surát, led Mr. Aungier to remove the goods in the factory on board the Company's frigate *Hunter*, then off Swálí; leaving the factors to defend their dwelling. For a further similar lapse of time Mr. Aungier had wholly resided at Bombay, in consequence of the continued distractions of trade, produced by Siváji's depredations on land, and the Sídí of Rájápur's piracies along the coast. Mr. Aungier died at Bombay in 1676. In 1679, the Court of Directors resolved upon reducing their establishment at Surát, to be entrusted hereafter to an official to be designated *Agent*, upon a salary of £300 per annum, with a second in Council at £80 per annum.

* Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire.*

These instructions, however, came at a season when it was impossible to carry them out—death having already removed a number of the factors: the treasury by one account to be almost bare, by another to be overflowing—and like views held respecting stores at Surát; both narrators agree as to the mouth of Bombay Harbour being occupied by the troops of Sívájí and the navy of the Sídí.

The death of Sívájí in 1680 quelled many of these vague fears which had been abroad and obstructed the progress of Commerce during the Maharátá's life-time. No sooner had Europeans arrived at Surát in their former numbers, and attempted to afford animation to the past febrile position of trade, than the ruling Emperor of Delhi imposed a heavy contribution, both on his subjects and the Foreign factories of Surát: the latter refused to comply with the demand, as at variance with past grants and privileges; the Imperial mandate, however, soon commuted it to the higher rate of Customs' duty—from two to three and a half per cent. While reduced to this extremity, the ruling Nawáb of Surát had cajoled the various European Directors into a belief that his family influence at Court would effect a modification of this tax to its original form, but it was communicated through intermediate Agents that the service about to be performed would need adequate remuneration:—in consequence, the chiefs of the English, Dutch and French factories, in unison, made up a sum of thirty thousand rupees, which was presented to the wily diplomatist; but no trace can be made of the desired abatement during the native governor's life-time. These passing affairs did not affect the trade of the English, and it would appear that if their stores were sold at not the most profitable rates, the funds acquired, not only permitted a discharge of their debts to Indian bankers, but apart from the very extensive shipments for Europe, amounting to within a very small proportion of £100,000, a balance of £30,000 was still at control for

the following season. Next year, the London Company reciprocated in greater quantity and value the shipments of the Surát factory—six ships (aggregating in burthen, two thousand five hundred tons) appear to have brought out goods and bullion estimated at £178,000—an eighth of which was to be appropriated to the purchase of diamonds. For the management of this extensive speculation, the Court of Directors appointed—at the request of his brother, Sir Josias Child, the Governor of the Company—Mr. John Child, President of Surát and Governor of Bombay. During the opening of Mr. Child's administration, the trade of Surát was not a little embarrassed by the vessels of Courten's Association, and two of the Company's factors who had been dismissed its service, affording assistance to the interlopers in their speculations along the Western coast. A little more than a month, however, previous to President Child's arrival, the military of Bombay had dismissed the Company's Governor and assumed the reins of administration under the King's authority as it was denominated: a deputation was sent from Surát to bring the belligerent parties to a sense of their situation—but neither threats nor persuasions effected the least purpose. Mr. Child's interference upon his arrival at Bombay, whither he had first directed his course, was equally ineffectual; and he then proceeded to Surát. In August 1684 Mr. Child was appointed Captain-General and Admiral of the Company's sea and land forces, with orders accompanying, under the Great Seal of England, for the recovery of Bombay from the revolter and his associates. The trade of Surát was now progressing favourably, and both imports and exports were extensive. The next year arrived more definite orders to President (now the Baronet, Sir John) Child, desiring the removal of the seat of the Company's affairs from Surát to Bombay. During 1687 a couple of Danish vessels—adopting English colours—had committed unjustifiable piracies in the Red Sea: both Dutch and French factors attri-

buted the affair to Sir John Child, but so soon as his intention was known of sending a couple of his fleet after them, it allayed the bitter feeling among the mercantile host: but difficulties to no small extent existed in consequence of the designs of the foreign factories, who exerted their influence with the Mogul Government to the prejudice of the English. In 1687, Bombay was declared the seat of the British regency, somewhat upon the same principle as the position of the Portuguese at Goa, and of the Dutch at Batavia and Columbo. Accordingly, Sir John Child was appointed Governor-General of Bombay and over all the Company's settlements to the East of the Cape of Good Hope; and to lend his position an importance in the eyes of the natives, he was to be attended on every occasion by a guard of thirty grenadiers commanded by a Captain. About this period, the factory of Surát obtained a firmán from the Imperial Court permitting the English to coin money in appearance and character resembling the local currency, and such as would circulate throughout the Mogul's dominions.

Arriving now at a distracting season of British alliance with this city—two conflicting opinions are expressed, distinct in character and various in feature. The one charges Sir John Child with fraud, duplicity, and infamous perfidy and robbery—the other presents him in the amiable light of a distinguished ruler, sensible of the care of his Government, and discharging his functions with a scrupulousness and firmness to merit the approbation of his employers. Hamilton may have written his narrative while writhing under the effects of imprisonment some years afterwards, attributed to Sir John's injudicious policy, which at the time assumed so favourable an aspect; but without venturing upon a judgment, I will merely proceed to furnish both versions of this momentous period. *Imprimis*, adopting the more agreeable account: the indecision of the factors at Bengal had involved them in an open feud with the Mogul administration, and it was

deemed that this unhappy feeling could extend to all the other establishments of the Company. Sir John Child therefore continued for a season at Surát at his own personal hazard, and that of the property in the factory. Meanwhile, the Court of Directors had furnished instructions and the appliances to commence hostilities, while the President was still open to pacific arrangements: matters, however, appeared to grow worse, and Sir John quitted the factory with the larger portion of the Commercial investments for Bombay, leaving an Agent and a few subordinates to carry out amicable relations with the Nawáb. One local authority succeeded another, and both are charged with intrigue and chicanery. Sir John Child upon his arrival at Bombay dispatched seaward two of the largest of the Company's navy then in the harbour, while a third vessel was ordered to proceed to the Gulf of Cambay towards releasing the factors of Surát from their precarious situation. In the interim, Sir John forwarded the precis of a treaty to the Imperial Government, exhibiting the terms upon which the British would arrive at a pacification: and Mr. Harris, the Agent at Surát, was instructed to continue conciliatory overtures. In November 1688, Sir John again visited Swálí, from whence he placed himself in correspondence with the native governor of Surát. On the 26th of the following month, Messrs Harris and Gladman were thrown into prison by the local authorities, the Company's property in the Factory sequestrated and ordered to be sold, and an award offered for seizing Sir John Child alive or dead. By the 16th of January Sir John, finding his efforts ineffectual either for negotiation with the Surát Government or rescuing the incarcerated factors, sailed from Swálí for Bombay. During the voyage a large fleet of Surát traders, under Mogul convoy, was met, forty* of which were captured and taken into Bombay harbour. Not long after—and during the existence of other and protracted embar-

ALEXANDER HAMILTON declares only fourteen!

rassments—Sir John Child died at Bombay. The chronicler of the foregoing narrative, adds, that Mr. Vaux assumed the reins of Government during the imprisonment of his senior, Mr. Harris, at Surát, when the most humiliating terms from the Mogul administration were accepted and under a firmán from the Imperial throne, couched in the most arrogant terms of Musalmán supremacy and the abject position of the British. HAMILTON again observes—that, in consequence of the large fleet provided by the Home Authorities for maintaining hostilities against the Dutch in the East, having been found useless after the pacific convention with Holland, Sir Josias Child, the brother of the Governor of Bombay, had written out that for the freight of these vessels extensive purchases should be made of the Surát traders upon credit, and as soon as the shipping had departed, to avail of a pretence to annul these engagements: and hence the occasion of the subsequent disasters which resulted in the imprisonment of the factors at Surát; the seizure and sale of their goods; the occupation of the major portion of the island of Bombay by the Sídí's troops; a long and painful siege being sustained by the garrison of the fort of Bombay: while of the English residents at Surat, it is remarked, "all were imprisoned, and put in irons, except Mr. "Boucher and his dependants, who were protected by his Phirmaund. Those "imprisoned were scurvily used, being obliged to pass through the streets "with irons about their necks, for spectacles to please the mob."

Sir John Child died at Bombay in 1690; his character justly falls within the province of the historian, who may arise at some future time to sketch the growing power of the Western Presidency. The mildest censure which has ever been employed, emanates from GRANT DUFF in a hurried allusion to the Court of Directors' instructions for decreasing the allowance of their military here at this time—"The President in Council at Surát carried the

orders into effect in that ungracious and arbitrary manner which appears to have marked the government of Sir John Child." *

Passing from the intricate and unhappy records of this stage of English relations in Western India, Mr. Vaux will be found to succeed Sir John Child in the Government of Bombay and Surát. The regime was brief; Mr. Bartholomew Harris being subsequently appointed by the Company. His also was a narrow season of administration, for Sir John Gayer arrived in 1694, assuming the chief authority under the "lofty title of General of all India" to adopt the observation of HAMILTON; though BRUCE in his *Annals* makes him merely Lieutenant-General, and Sir John Goldsborough, of Fort St. George (Madras,) the superior, with authority to succeed the latter upon his demise as General at the Eastern Presidency. Among other instructions respecting Surát given to Sir John upon appointment to office, was, "always to have in readiness a large quantity of pepper and cotton-wool, to meet the arrival of the shipping; * * * to draw on the Court (as the Armenians † had refused to answer the credit on them) for £50,000 above the

* OVINGTON attributes his death to—'a too deep concern for suffering the Siddy to invade the island; and for fear that such proposals in a Firmaun as might suit with the Honour of his Masters the *East India Company*, might not be hearkened to by the Mogul. He was a quick and expert Merchant, and totally devoted to his Masters' service.' Yet,—continues Ovington—'the Factors of that time charge him with partiality to his relations, * * a penurious temper, and injuriously depriving them of the comfort of *Europe* Liquors. * * * He amassed abundance of wealth during his stay in India.' RAYNAL indulges in a painful phillipic against Sir John: too lengthy for quotation.

† HOUGH'S *Christianity in India*, observes—"The first conspicuous Armenian who conferred with the English on political subjects was COJA PHANOOS KALENDER, an eminent merchant of Ispahan, who obtained from them considerable encouragements and privileges for himself and his community. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the English agreed, that 'whenever forty or more of the Armenian nation shall become inhabitants in any of the garrisons, cities, or towns, belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only have and enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion, but there shall be also allotted to them a parcel of ground, to erect a Church thereon for the worship and service of God in their own way. And that we will also at our own charge cause a convenient church to be built of timber, which after-

stock sent, and none of the Company's stores were to be sold, unless they produced double the invoice price. In the list of articles for the investment, it was specified that £100,000 should be expended in producing indigo and chintzes." The English Company, however, now furnished considerable annoyance and difficulty to the London Association, and which led to painful embarrassments:—"the Company's debt at Surat amounted to twenty lacks, and they had been obliged to raise an additional supply of one lack and eighty thousand rupees, to enable them to complete the investment for three ships: * * * *it could only be procured by taking up money by loans from the Company's servants.*' Matters appear to have progressed in a languid form in the East, with the hostile outbreak in Europe between the English and French. To add to past calamities, an adventurer by name AVERY, in command of a vessel called the '*Fanny*' (mounting 46 guns, with a crew of 130 men composed of almost every European maritime nation,) which had been fitted out in the West Indies, now played the most fearful game, to his pecuniary advantage and the detriment of the London Company. To other piracies, information was brought into Surát in September 1695 of the capture of a vessel of an important citizen; but I will here pursue the narrative of BRUCE—"When intelligence was received that this pirate (Avery) had plundered a ship belonging to Abdul Gopher,* one of the principal merchants of Surát, and that the ship carried English colors, the Governor, who had hitherto acted in a friendly manner, placed a guard on the Company's house, to prevent its being plundered, and their servants massacred,

wards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone, or other solid materials, to their own good liking. And the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum, during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate therein. Given under the Company's larger seal, &c. &c. June 22d, 1688."—*Asiaticus*, part i. p. 53.

* OVINGTON orthographizes him—*Abdel Gheford* (Abdul Jáfir, I presume): but his account of the TROUBLES is neither precise nor succinct.

by the enraged inhabitants. * * * In this state of irritation, news arrived that the same pirate had attacked a ship belonging to the Mogul (the Gunswah) between Bombay and Damán, and plundered the vessel, and the pilgrims on board of all their valuable effects. If the first injury to an individual merchant was resented, this, which was deemed a sacrilege, raised resentment to fury, and obliged the Governor to put the President and all the English in irons to prevent their being torn to pieces by the inhabitants;—the same ferment extended to the factors at Broach, who were also confined." STAVORINUS asserts that a sister of Aurangzíb was on board the pilgrim packet: hence it might be inferred, the Muslím fury. Suspicion was sufficient, in whatever dark transaction that was propagated, to render the English chargeable with such offence: foreign powers struggling upon the same soil, exulted in the obloquy brought upon the English character—'an obloquy which the Dutch had uniformly heightened, whether 'they were in amity or in enmity with England in Europe, that they might 'ensure their own monopoly, and depress the trade of the London East 'India Company.' HAMILTON on this affair briefly remarks—"In 1696, "Mr. Vaux and I were prisoners at Surat, on account of Captain Avery's "robbing the Mogul's great ship, called the *Gunsway*." So soon as it was discovered that neither the members of the factory nor their associates at Bombay had any interest in these infamous proceedings, the Governor of Surát was open to reason, but bribes and proposals were nevertheless obliged to be employed to effect the freedom of the unfortunate incarcerated. Among these offers was the engagement that an English vessel should accompany the pilgrim packet to its destination and back to Surát annually; the proposition, at the time, was abandoned by the Imperial Government. In certain stipulations, the other foreign powers of Surát were required to attend; and of these, one prohibited all European ships to carry flags, or

the Europeans to wear arms, or to use palankeens." The circulation of new reports respecting a fresh piracy in the Indian seas upon another of Abdul Gopher's vessels, occasioned the imprisonment of Mr. Annesley—then President of Surát—until the 27th June 1796, when his release, with those of his companions, was accomplished. The fettered condition of trade, owing to the proceedings of the Governor of Surát; the high political feeling existing between the Dutch and French, who had ugly collisions on shore and battles upon the ocean; the want of any unanimity among the European settlers of Surát—led matters to grow worse with the London Company's servants, who were further thwarted in their laudable peaceful exertions by interlopers or agents of the rival Association. Among other traits of the exactions of the native authorities and the influence they possessed, it is said that the English, "though they had disposed of six hundred and "eighty-three bales of broad-cloth to Auga Peri," (so the nomenclature is given) "a Surát merchant, for 2,58,000 rupees, they were not permitted to "apply this money to the purchase of an investment, and from their im- "prisonment were unable to procure indigo as recommended by the Court, "their stores of this article at Broach, Brodera, and Cambaya, having been "seized." To add, however, to past misfortunes and present difficulties, the former intelligent Nawáb (who died a few months previously) was succeeded in office by an ignorant, corrupt, rapacious creature, who applied the thumb-screw of authority in extorting several thousands of rupees upon various pretences—to the future weal of the British factory, it was urged, but wholly beyond the attainment of the venial ruler.

Mr. Annesley, the President of Surát, does not appear to have been on the happiest terms of intimacy with Sir John Gayer, the Governor of Bombay: and the latter in tendering his resignation now of the appointment he had held for some years, pointedly drew the attention of the Court

to Annesley's incompetency for succeeding him. This is but one view: another charges Sir John with gross inability. Mr. Annesley, however, was removed from his situation, and Mr. Stephen Colt (who subsequently added LATT to his patronymic) made President of Surat. In the political horizon of our relations with Hindusthán—from the onset to the present time—we have had the attention frequently directed, year after year, to petty feuds and brilliant achievements, high confidence and imprisonments, honors and ignominious treatment, distrust, calumnies, such a catalogue of successes and misfortunes, that they aptly resemble the glorious sunsets of Bombay in the month of October, and the sombre and dim departure he makes in July among dark clouds and depressed spirits. Political intrigue and commercial success were so closely entwined from the first connexion with Surát that I feel inclined to believe that it was here we were first taught to understand and appreciate the native character, and to know the precise conduct to be pursued towards them in those glorious victories which have signalized the English in India. But another and more painful accident was the hostility employed towards those adventurous countrymen who, whether under the English Association, or in an independent capacity, ranged over the Indian waters. The consequence was a rancorous spirit which soon evinced itself in a practical and dangerous form: and the piracies of Kidd of the Cape Comorin fleet soon led the foreign powers of Surát (i. e. English, Dutch, and French) to be imprisoned within the precincts of their factories; to be deprived of their native servants, brokers, and other domestics; to furnish, collectively and separately, security bonds for the value of fourteen lacs of rupees as indemnity for the loss of the *Queda Merchant*, belonging to Surát, and at the time sailing from Bengal to Bombay; and that their local creditors should furnish a list of the foreigners' liabilities, towards their early liquidation. The Dutch resented this treatment, and requested

eight days time to permit their departure from Surát: the permission was conceded upon payment of their debts, or unquestionable local security towards their final adjustment. It was indeed hard that men wholly innocent of the daring acts so wantonly perpetrated by marauders from their respective countries should lead to the factors' responsibility and sufferings: but it well illustrates the caprice and power of the native government, and the indemnity always possessed against any extraneous oppressions or aggressions. So bitterly did the President of the London Factory feel his position at the time, that BRUCE quotes the forcible expression which acknowledges their position—"*as despicable as the Portuguese in India, and as odious as the Jews in Spain.*"

In April 1699, intelligence was received at Surát of the formal establishment, by Royal Charter, of the English East India Company, and the departure of Sir William Norris, as the King's Ambassador to the Mogul Emperor, to facilitate the views of this new Association. The communication was made by one Lucas, the Agent of the *Shrewsbury Galley*, which brought this piece of astounding information to the factors of the London Company: he was also the instrument of the evils endured by the London factors in consequence of his intercourse with the Surát Governor. Shortly after, Sir Nicolas Waite arrived at Bombay, and upon his exhibiting his consular powers, insisted on compliance with a number of unpalatable demands: Sir John Gayer, however, waived attention to these upon the same grounds urged by Mr. Colt, the President of Surát, that—"by the Act establishing "the English Company, the London Company were entitled to carry on their "trade until September 1701." Withal, Sir Nicolas, in his capacity of Vice-Admiral, removed the Company's flag from the different houses where it waived. In this unhappy state of things, and its fatal influence to English trade, despite the opinions abroad to their prejudice, posterity cannot but

view with gratitude the resolute bearing of Sir John Gayer and Mr. Colt, who, in the lofty and anomalous positions occupied, sustained with becoming fortitude and dignity their respective offices. At this distance of time, when circumstances have been wholly deprived of their party-color (though recently exhibited in a painful degree—from historical association—by BRUCE's Annals,) we can regard with just estimate what had hitherto only obtained a jaundiced medium; and succeeding writers will yet have to unravel much of that fictitious humour which is assigned to our early history in India by authors of various character and attached to conflicting interests. It is the misfortune of our nature, from constituent inherency, for the judgment to own that complexion which the feelings desire; and it is only upon an acquaintance in the studio with things past, and a practical knowledge of human misfortunes, that a deliberate opinion can be uttered—freed from passionate fancy, in whatever form it may choose otherwise to assume.

In November, 1700, Sir John Gayer, at the instance of President Colt, arrived off Surát with a view of expostulating with the native Governor, and towards obtaining a speedy and amicable arrangement of matters; apart from the contumacious proceedings of Sir Nicolas Waite and his adherents. Charges, however, were soon multiplied; matters were rendered more intricate; and in this confusion appeared (in the month of December) Sir William Norris at Surát, who made a public and pompous entry into the City on his way to the seat of the Imperial Government of Hindusthán. In consequence of the refusal of Sir John Gayer and the servants of the London Company to be present at the state interview between Sir William Norris and the Surát Nawáb, it was tortured into an alleged insult; and the imprisonment of Sir John Gayer, President Colt, and their subordinates, solicited:—the local authorities, however, more from the spirit of suspicion at the existing rivalry than otherwise, refused to comply with the disgraceful

demand. But it was not long before the fatal blow made its appearance; for upon the 8th of February, 1701, the Governor of Bombay, and the servants of the London East India Company, were confined to their factory, their property seized, their persons barbarously used, and the terms of liberation set at two láks and a half of rupees by way of compensation to a Muslím merchant, who was said to be the brother of the Chief of Jaddah, for the loss of his vessel to the piratical fraternity of Cape Comorin: Sir John and his fellow-prisoners indignantly refused the price of freedom when it was associated with a misdeed of which they were guiltless. It ought to be added, to the memory of a distinguished and much-maligned character—Sir William Norris, the second royal British Ambassador to the Mogul's Court,—that he disdained the importunate solicitations of Sir Nicolas Waite to continue the incarceration, and to effect the ruin of the members of the London East India Company by interference with the Emperor. Long, however, after Sir William's departure from the East, Sir John was released from his painful position upon parole; an embargo being set upon his leaving Surát. The union of the interests of the two rival British Associations at home, led to instructions from the English Company to their Agent here (Sir Nicolas Waite) to urge his strenuous endeavours in mitigating the distresses sustained by Sir John Gayer and his servants, and to see to their speedy liberation, quite as well to the early settlement of pecuniary transactions between the natives and them. These were proceedings hostile to the very nature of Sir Nicolas Waite; and the instructions were set aside, without any rebuke to the conscience, or any detriment to the employers, of the British Consul of Surát.

Until the year 1707, by studied insult and renewed injury the affairs of the London Company were ruined by the measures of Sir Nicolas Waite, and he was at last recalled; when Mr. Aislabie, his successor in the Govern-

ment of Bombay, procured the liberation of Sir John Gayer. The Union (literally so) now of the rival companies, led to the adjustment of accounts, when it was discovered that their collective debts to the native bankers of Surát amounted to eighty láks of rupees; which were liquidated three years afterwards. The chisel of the sculptor, however, rather than the historical record of events, notes upon an humble gravestone in the English cemetery of Surát, the death of Stephen Colt Latt, President of Surát in 1708; the last figure it is presumed to be intended for 3, than as it is given.

With the happy amity brought about by the treaty of 1707-8 between the rival English Associations, a long and blissful peace continued at Surát; affairs prospered vigorously; and, if truth be at all consistent here, wealth was far more readily procurable than existed the necessity for extraordinary political or commercial exertion. The Maharáta army at one moment in Gujarát, at another in Málwa, on to Delhí, then in the Konkan, and next farther south, amply engaged the ability and energy of the sons and successors of Aurangzíb and their Nawábs; and with exception of the most active of the British presidents of trade at Surát,—Bernard Wyche, James Hope, and Brabazon Ellis,—we come to a more important period of our local association under John Spencer, who had previously distinguished himself in the wily atmosphere of a Maharáta Court.

Allusion has already been made in the history of Surát to Mi-u-dín Khan or Mía Achan, a young and aspiring Muslim, who, from a family connexion with a previous Nawáb, was desirous of obtaining the vacant and long disputed *gadí* (throne,) which he had occupied some time before for a brief season. He had sought and obtained—so runs one version of this affair—the assistance of the Maharátas; but various, and apparently untoward, circumstances prevented the coalition of their forces to effect the desired aim. Disappointed in his expectations, he looked around for ano-

ther and equally effective ally, and in his anticipated views he was strengthened upon an application to the English President of Surát; under written and solemn obligations passed between Mía Achan and Mr. Spencer. It is no extraordinary circumstance for Milburn and other grave authorities to attribute this connexion to an open war in the city; whereas it was a simple civil discord, fermented and promoted by the adherents of the different competitors for the ascendancy. Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, makes allusion to it in his painfully laborious minute under date 26th October 1798, and he proceeds further to shew that the ill-treatment experienced by two of the members of the English factory from the inmates of the castle, led all the English, with one exception (Mr. Erskine,) to proceed to the bar, and for whose security the family (on their way from Bombay to Surát) of Mía Achan was detained outside the river. But if the interference of the British is attempted to be justified by this proceeding, it diminishes rather than enhances the happy position we were supposed to occupy. Stavorinus, the Dutch Admiral, not many years afterwards charges Mr. Spencer pointedly with duplicity and intrigue in the political supremacy we acquired. Mr. Duncan may, or may not, have seen Stavorinus's publication; but he wrote a long, an elaborate, and what was deemed an accurate, history, apparently to vindicate our measures to posterity. It certainly did not require any strained exertion of the mind, any refined process of mental ingenuity, to shew that Mía Achan required the *gadi* he had once more usurped or attempted to usurp, and we were willing to assist him upon specific terms; that upon concession of the latter, the former was promoted. The march of General Goddard would have readily given us just thirty years afterwards what we might not then have obtained: our political position in Hindusthán would soon have put us in possession of the citadel of Surát with little expence and less artifice. The very circumstance which

rouses the ire of Stavorinus, leads to an inference of a private amicable arrangement between the Nawáb and English; the statement of the Dutchman that his countrymen mustered stronger at the time, both in military and civil, to have prevented our success, confirms the deduction urged. The Sídí of Jínjerá was certainly no insignificant enemy to the weak and effeminate Muslím military of Surát; but our assistance soon poured an efficient and important force—to awe, to conquer, and to command. A shrewd judge of mankind and a lawyer, no other than Sir James Mackintosh, alludes in his journal to Mr. Duncan in a tone of commiseration which tells little for the Governor's ability.

Turning from these to a younger and more careful authority, who had access to the records of the Government both at Bombay and Surát, we ascertain that—"Mr. Richard Bourchier, on the 24th November, 1750, announced to the Peishwa, that he had succeeded to the government of Bombay and its dependencies on the 17th of the same month; and from that period, a more intimate intercourse commenced between the Mahrattas and the English. They had for some years been mutually desirous of settling Surat, and suppressing the depredations of Toolajee Angria. Ballajee Bajee Rao, in the first service he had seen, in the year 1740, was impressed with a high idea of the English, from their conduct when they relieved Mannajee Angria, at Kolabah. The warfare in the Carnatic had greatly contributed to raise their military reputation, and their fidelity to their master (as Mohummud Ally was termed), whose cause they had once embraced, had much effect in raising their national character in the minds of the natives of India. Ballajee had early promised to assist Mr. Bourchier in restoring order in Surat, where, from the weakness of the Moghul Government, there were three or four authorities, besides the agents of Dummajee Gaekwar and the English factory.—Seedee Musaood, an officer of the Seedee

of Jinjeera, who had command of that part of the Seedee's squadron, whose proper duty was to protect the trade of Surat, having part of the revenue assigned for that sole purpose, was a principal cause of the many broils which took place in that city. The English at Bombay had always maintained a friendly intercourse with the Seedees of Jinjeera, because theirs was the only territory in the vicinity from which they could procure beef for supplying their ships. In other parts of the Mahratta coast, cows and bullocks were sacred: for to prey on human flesh would not be more revolting to the feelings of a European, than eating beef to the prejudices of a Hindoo. Seedee Musaood had taken advantage of the distractions in Surat, and the confusion in the government at Jinjeera, virtually to throw off his dependance on all authority; and, like most of the African race who have attained power in India, he was overbearing in his deportment, and tyrannical in his behaviour.* * * * * The Bombay Presidency had long been urgent with the Peishwa to aid them in establishing their trade and privileges on a secure and respectable footing in the City of Surat, but finding they were not likely to obtain his aid, they, with abundant caution, proposed trying to effect the object themselves, and Mr. Ellis, the agent on the spot, arranged a plan which promised certain success. The Peishwa, apprised of everything that was going forward, sent Shunkrajee Punt, the Soobehdar of Kallian, to amuse Mr. Bourchier until he should find it more convenient than it was at that juncture to detach a force to Surat; but Shunkrajee Punt, judging by the president's indifference, and the preparations of the armament, that they would proceed to the execution of the enterprize by themselves, Ballajee Rao determined to prevent it by making a feint of threatening the Presidency itself. With this view he moved from Aurungabad a few marches to the westward, and by means of the native agent em-

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. II. p. 82, *et seq.*

ployed by the English at Poona, he made them believe he was about to march for Nassuck, and thence to Bassein, with his army; he also caused the agent to insinuate that the Mahrattas were treacherous people not to be depended on, and that it would be prudent to keep a strict guard on the island of Bombay. The Governor and Council on receipt of this intelligence, *unanimously resolved,* not only to defer the expedition, but to desire Mr. Ellis to send down all the military and marine force he could possibly spare to defend the settlement. This remarkable instance of credulity, proves the great want of experience of the Bombay Government; they, however, got possession of Surat Castle, some months afterwards, (Mar. 4, A. D. 1759) though with considerable loss of officers and men."*

The striking difference between this statement and all other popular notices shews precisely our anxiety to secure both the citadel and our position at Surát: while DUFF's version amply corroborates GROSE's *Voyage to the East Indies,* which he appears to have employed as a text-book. GROSE had the advantage to be at Surát at the time, and his opinion is valuable amid a heap of conflicting authorities who have sprung up since his time.

The history of Surát, which has already been furnished, supplies particulars in relation to the negociations with the Nawáb of Surát and the surrender of the castle. From that eventful moment, the British President at Surát assumed the flatent designation of *Chief for Affairs of the British Nation, and Governor of the Mogul Castle and Fleet of Surat.* Mr. Spencer was succeeded in office by Mr. William Andrew Price, and his successors again were Messrs. Robert Gambier, James Boddam, John Griffith, and—last of all, in whom terminated the dignity on the 14th May 1800—Daniel Seton. From the period of the treaty of 1759 until 1800,

* GRANT DUFF's *History of the Mahrattas,* Vol. II. p. 115, *et seq.*

with one singular exception, there appears to have been continued quiet with English concerns at Surát. That exception occurs in 1778, when M. Briancourt, the French Director, is found to assist by his counsel, and with funds, the infamous St. Lubin, whose career as a political adventurer has not its parallel in any history. In consequence of Briancourt's continued support to his diplomatic ally—"on the 3rd of November, the resident and whole French factory at Surat were made prisoners of war by orders from Bombay. They continued some time at Surat confined to their garden, being permitted to remain there to prevent inconvenience in their private arrangements; but it was soon found that intrigues were carrying on for the delivery of the castle of Surat to the Mahrattas, in which they had a considerable share; they were then transferred to Bombay."*

By an Almanac of 1798, the following is found to comprise the Civil establishment of Surát for the period, viz:—

John Griffith.....Chief.

Francis Warden.....Accomptant and Collector.

John Spencer.....Latty Master.

Lewis Corkran.....Marine Paymaster and Persian Translator.

Thomas Wilkinson.....Land Paymaster and Deputy Hospital Purveyor.

Alexander Ramsay.....Deputy Paymaster General.

John Hector Cherry.....Secretary, Warehouse-keeper, Assistant Treasurer, Dutch Translator, and Officiating Chaplain.

John Church.....Phoorza Master, and Assistant to the Secretary.

William Soper.....General and Military Storekeeper.

David Charles Ramsay....Transfer Master, and Assistant to the Collector and Accomptant.

Samuel Guise.....Surgeon.

Joseph Pouget.....Assistant-Surgeon.

* An Historical Account of the Settlement and Possession of BOMBAY, by the English East India Company, and of the Rise and Progress of the War with the Mahratta Nation. LONDON: Printed by *W. Richardson*, Strand, for *J. Robson*, Bookseller, New Bond Street. M.DCCXXXI.

Nevertheless, with this large Civil Staff, Surát was garrisoned not long after by a detachment of the Royal Dragoons; an European, and a battalion of a native, regiment; the sloops and ketches of the Bombay Marine frequently introduced the officers of that service into the numerous community of the time; a Major-General commanded the troops—a Commodore was also resident with his flag-ship constantly laying off Swálí point—and the Chief took the precedence of this extensive English assembly. Not quite thirty years ago, when the Dutch factory passed by purchase into our possession, its terrace was occupied by the old Bombay Europeans, now the celebrated Fusiliers of the Western Presidency of British India.

Upon Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, concluding with the Nawáb he had placed upon the *gaḍí*, revised stipulations which placed the government of the city wholly at our control, the following Proclamation was distributed throughout the City of Surát in Persian, Gujarátí, and English:—

Proclamation by the Honorable the Governor of the Presidency of Bombay.

Whereas by a Treaty concluded between the Honourable English Company, and the Nawaub Meer Nusseer ul Deen Khan, under date the 13th May 1800, or the 19th of Zilheje 1214 of the Hejiree, the said Nawaub has agreed, That the management and collection of the revenue of the city of Surat, and of the territories, places, and other dependencies thereof, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and generally the entire government of the said city and its dependencies, shall be vested for ever wholly and exclusively in the Hon'ble English Company.

This is therefore to give notice to all the inhabitants of the town of Surat, and its dependencies, that the Honourable Company's exclusive government commences from this day, being Thursday the 15th May 1800, or the 21st of Zilheje 1214 of the Hejiree. All persons now in civil offices are to continue to act under the administration of the Honourable Company until further orders, and their future permanency will of course in a great measure depend,

under the good pleasure of Government, upon their diligence in their several trusts, and their fidelity to the English Sircar.

Edward Galley, Esq., has been appointed Collector of the Mokauts and Moghullay of the Pergunnahs, &c., and Alexander Ramsay, Esq., Judge and Magistrate of the City. The Natives in trust in those Departments are therefore respectively to continue to act in subordination to these superior officers, and such further appointments or regulations as may take place will be announced in a few days, it being sufficient for the present to intimate to all the Company's new subjects of Surat, that the motives and objects of the British Government, in taking on themselves the full and entire government of Surat, have been, and are, to procure thereby a just, wise, and efficient administration for the security of the lives and properties, and the promotion of the happiness, of all its inhabitants, of which, with God's blessing, the good effects may soon be rendered manifest.

Dated the 15th May, 1800.

From this period was opened that popular system of administration employed by the Government of the East India Company. A few stirring circumstances in connexion with this city have since ensued: in 1802, by the treaty of Bassein, the Peishwá surrendered his interest in the two gates of the City, and his Cháuth of the zíllá—in 1810, the agent for the Hon'ble the Governor received an offensive message from a turbulent Muslím fanatic in an adjoining district, who was probably more anxious to provide for an empty purse than to acquire any popularity; his proceedings were burked by the interference of the military*—in 1842, died the last of the direct line of Nawábs of the creation of 1800, and upon this casualty, the Commodore of the station, Captain John Pepper, of the Indian Navy, and his fleet, were ordered to Bombay; while the flag of Delhi, which flew from one of the staves on the battlements of the citadel and from the mainmast head of the Commodore's vessel, was simultaneously removed. Not long after, Puthla-bádí, *the model garden,* was occupied by the deposed Síndian

* Vide appendix B.

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Amír Shadád,—charged by public rumour with the cold-blooded murder of Captain Ennis,—the scene of whose exile was afterwards (in 1847) altered to Calcutta. The French sloop-of-war *Dordogne*, which was found cruising in the Gulf of Cambay about this time, was directed to leave these waters by the direction of the chief authority of Surát.

Terminating now the long and singular history of the dawn of our association with, and the establishment of our power in, this quarter; the attention is naturally directed to a more familiar relation. 1. The quotation from Mandleslo has given the most favorable and amiable sketch of English Christians in the early portion of their connexion with Surat; the very indifferent accounts since furnished, and at wide intervals, of the mode of living adopted by our countrymen, only present a series of profligacy and avariciousness—that they had infused into their manners and conduct the loose morals of the East. In their diet, they employed rare aromatics and pungent herbs, which at first had proved distasteful to to the appetite.* The poorer Europeans were obliged to conform to local habits; the richer adopted them out of complaisance to their wives, who were natives of the country. An elegant writer in his resumé of matters in Hindusthán at this time, ingeniously pleads—"it is here, as well as in all other places, much easier for the men to conform to the tastes and foibles of the women than to get the better of them. Perhaps, too, the climate may require this manner of living."† The *hárím* was soon added to other indigenous usages, and the bubbling echo of the *huká* evinced its frequent employment: the ener-

* One of many extracts may not unkindly be furnished; it has the advantage of coming from the pen of one of our countrymen:—"All the dishes and plates brought to the table are of pure silver, massy and substantial; and such are also the tosses or cups out of which we drink. And that nothing may be wanting to please the curiosity of every palate at the times of eating, an *English*, *Portuguese*, and an *Indian* Cook, are all entertain'd to dress the meat in different ways for the gratification of every stomach."—OVINGTON.

† The Abbé RAYNAL.

vating influence of the country, and the constant association with corresponding tastes, had supplanted those fine sentiments with which the English had quitted their island-home. 2. The superintendant of trade at Surát was known as the President of the Council of Surát and of the English factories in the East, until the appearance of Sir George Oxinden as Governor of Bombay, when the superior here was considered the subordinate, and next in succession, to that office; upon the treaty with Mía Achan—the Nawáb of our making—were there the absence of other record, a tomb-stone in the English cemetery tells the astounding title assumed, "Chief of Affairs of the British Nation, and Governor of the Mogul Castle and fleet." During this period the Chief of Surát might be seen in his powdered periwig and tie, surmounted by a cocked hat, with two white and stiff props of feathers diversified by a red one, to supply the presence of plumes; his short coat of scarlet adorned with ponderous buttons, and his shoulders with two small epaulettes of bullion; his cloth breeches and silk hose terminating in a pair of heavy shoes ornamented with buckles of gold and silver, and studded with gems, which also glittered in the rings used on his fingers and the studs and pins in his shirt-front. When he proceeded beyond the limits of his factory, it was the custom to enter the state equipage—a *pálkí*, emblazoned with the royal escutcheon and lined with rich silks. Heralds proceeded in advance, announcing the titles of his dignity, and they were followed by as gaily-clad mace-bearers, bearing silver-gilt staves; troops to the front and in rear; some of the subordinate factors (in their holiday apparel) on foot immediately around him; while in the centre of this procession moved the pálkí with the principal English merchant—fanned by the gaudy feathers of the peacock, or the costly *cháurí* formed of the fine tresses of the Tibetan goat, held by young pages. Though these gala occasions were of rare occurrence, they were expected

with breathless anxiety,—upon visits of ceremony to the Nawáb, and the 'merrie season of Christmas.' The narration breathes more of romance—of the charletanism of the stage—than the becoming deportment of a factor and the head of a Commercial Establishment. But apart from the glowing terms of narrative; in an obscure alley of the city, and at a thriving little huckster's shop, might be seen a wretched painting in more extravagant colors of one of these processions. Later still, they assume a more rational fòrm—"When the English chief goes out or comès in at the gates, "the drums beat, and the guard is turned out; which ceremony is observ-"ed when he passes the main guard, which is on the esplanade near the "castle: besides two union flags borne before his carriage, it is preceded "by a serjeant and twenty sepoys, with swords drawn, who run before it "from the gate to his house, where the guard is turned out on his arrival, "and drums beat. A Lieutenant's guard which has good barracks, is al-"ways mounted between the outer and inner gates leading to his house: "there are ten centinels always on duty at the gates, and in different "parts about the garden." (*Parsons*, p. 252.) Not quite half a century since, how striking is the change! The vicious domestic life—its uxoriousness and coxcombry; the parade of public occupation—its pedantry and absurdity; were swept by simple principles, accordant with the moral tone of the age. The position of the Chief was replaced by the less phonetic, but equally effective, appellation of "Agent for the Governor;" and the Lords of Wansdá and Suchín, of Surát and Dharrampur, had the same attention paid their political demands as under the more euphoniously designated regime. The Agent married to a country-woman; rigid in point of moral character; a devout, if not a sincere, Christian, and a regular attender at and upon the ordinances of the Church. The only marks of distinction were the presence of a couple of mace-bearers in advance of his carriage;

and the roar of ordnance (nineteen guns—the salute due to the Governor of Bombay) from the citadel when the Nawáb was visited officially, or when the district was quitted upon a diplomatic or magisterial tour. 3. With indifferent allowances all the young writers, factors, and merchants, (as they were variously denominated according to the period of service) contrived to realize fortunes while their mode of living was the counterpart of Oriental pomp and Oriental voluptuousness: their viands and beverages were served in the most costly plate—their dress, a mingled display of splendour and foppery—their amusements, gross and sensual.* It is true that a portion of the Factory was set apart for devotional purposes, and a chaplain was always attached to the establishment, and in case of accident his place was supplied by one of the senior merchants, to maintain the form of professional worship;† but it was nothing unusual for individuals in pecuniary embarrassments to embrace the faith of Muhammad, to prevent them from starving—so chilling and so selfish was the charity of these English-Christians. Another unfortunate blemish continues, in the uncovert charge of our countrymen acquiring monies and being dreaded from some such strange proceeding: a number of able and adventurous young men would make up a shooting-party; availing of this pretence they would enter the domains of some native chieftain, and by dint of bullying and the presence

* Ovington supplies a little additional information, which would lose in graphic interest if other than his own language were employed:—"Several Europeans pay their lives for their immoderate draughts, and too frankly carousing these cheerful liquors, with which, when once they are inflamed, it renders them so restless and unruly, especially with the additional heat of the weather, that they fancy no place can prove too cool, and so throw themselves upon the ground, where they sleep all night in the open fields, and this commonly produces a flux, of which a multitude in India die."

† Subsequently, it appears,—"there was a small Chapel, but it was demolished before 1816, and the site on which it stood converted into a shot-yard." Vide Hough's *Christianity in India*, upon information supplied by Mr. James Farish, Acting Governor of Bombay in 1841. The Church now in existence is of recent construction, of which further anon. Hough's work might also be consulted for extracts from Cobbe's rare pamphlet, and respecting the state of religion at various seasons in the Bombay Presidency.

of fire-arms, extort large sums of money, complete treaties of mutual assistance (offensive and defensive,) and exchange vows of eternal friendship: by these excursions, anomalous bonds of amity, and bold system of pecuniary aggrandizement—the English are said to have obtained their political supremacy in the East, and to have replenished their coffers so liberally. The idea however is purely chimerical,—quite of that mould not to require comment. In juxta-position to this, place the uniform urbanity of the English factory to other Western competitors resident at Surát, when both means and opportunity were at control for annoyance: one instance of many will suffice,—"when either of the chiefs" (French and Dutch) "or their company, want to pass through this gate" (an inner gate) "after it is locked, they send to the English chief for per-"mission, which is never denied, but on the contrary the keys are directly "sent." With the gradual progress of European refinement and the introduction of European tastes, it is pleasing to revert to the unanimity and sensible mirth which prevailed at Surát on the 25th of December 1777.—"This "day was ushered in at sun-rising by a discharge of twenty-one guns at "the castle; at nine in the morning the French, Portuguese, and Dutch "chiefs made their visits of congratulation to the English chief, which was "followed by those of the gentlemen of the English, French, Portuguese "and Dutch factories; after which the principal native gentlemen and mer-"chants, consisting of Mahometans, Gentoos and Parsees, paid their res-"pects; to all these the chief presented arak nuts" (the *areca* or betel-nut) "wrapped in beetle leaf, according to custom, which had been prepared "previous to this festival. The English gentlemen, both civil and military, "dined with the chief; a train of artillery was drawn from the castle into "the outer court-yard of his house, and after dinner, at proper intervals, "five salutes, of twenty-one guns each, were fired at five public toasts. At

" night the chief gave a supper and a ball, at which were present all the " chiefs and many of the gentlemen and ladies of their respective nations, " as well as all the English, amongst whom was Mrs. Bolts,* who being the " only stranger, the chief opened the ball with her."† 4. The picture is a dark one: and with the exception already quoted, all the older writers are unanimous in pourtraying similar scenes and like detail, while an English clergyman towards the close of the seventeenth century paints in vivid colors this painful luxuriousness and callousness to higher concerns. Still, it were unkind not to cast the veil of charity over the natural sarcasm of foreigners who witnessed our successes in the East with no pleasing eye, and to palliate the intuitive warmth of a minister of God: torn, as the early English were from their homes and friends—isolated, in point of position—among a demi-civilized race, and with European diplomatists around them, grasping at the same potential phantom; it is not untoward to believe that their habits were more matter of assumption than agreeable to their feelings; a delusive form to attract the native eye—prone to respect, nay adore, the pageantry of life; rather than that forgetfulness of early impressions, the simplicity which adorns the hearths of father-land, or the inculcation of Biblical knowledge. The past is sealed: if the lives of the early English were one continued course of extravagance and dissipation—flushed by mercantile success or created by the spirit of rivalry—their tombs reflect, even in decay, the grandeur they attempted to, if they did not really, maintain.

What now is the Anglo-Indian Empire?

* *Vide* ante, p. 33.

† Parsons' *Travels in Asia and Africa*, London 1808.

CHAPTER V.

PANJRAPOLAS; and their Founders—Mrs. Postans in Surát—Old Mogli Palaces—The Pársís: Life and Character of Ardasír Danjíshâh Bâhâdur Khân—The Dutch Burial-ground—A proposed Cotton-Spinning Association—The Taptí—English Residences—Nature of the Population of Surát—The Nelson of the East.

16*th November*.—Every one who knows anything of Western India has heard, or ought to have heard, of a PANJRAPOLA, literally signifying *the Cage Ward*, an asylum for decayed Brutes and Birds. It was the theme upon which every traveller of the olden time rang his changes—all that was ridiculous or absurd were summoned in strong array to present this topic in the happiest form to the reader. There was something so novel in charity being exercised towards dumb animals; and, until Martin's Cruelty Act appeared, even domestic cattle, if treated with the utmost severity, was deemed justifiable. A lesson, however, was to be received from Asiatic shores of sympathy for the infirmities of the brute creation: that sympathy certainly arose from religious intuition, but the morality which prompted such a lesson sprung from the purest sources of love—the holiest passion implanted in the human breast! For long, long years, this subject was matter of incredulity in Christendom though confirmed by a series of tourists from every enterprising nation—still even to later times it was treated as a happy fiction, finding its origin in an anxiety for the marvellous. A more extensive European acquaintance with the East has ripped up many a frivolous notion, and presented facts in stronger colours—on the same principle as BRUCE's Abyssinian tales were treated, until succeeding travellers

developed them in longer, broader, more lucid lines; and not till then had the harbinger of truth from barbaric lands the full meed of his honors extended to him for mere veracity! The ribaldry, the sarcasm attendant upon such stories as—maimed brutes being supported by a general contribution levied for the purpose; water-providers and fishermen paid a douceur not to exercise their calling for a stated interval—were not the only annoyances experienced by the individual who recounted the existence of such circumstances, but he was too frequently scouted if not hissed, or perhaps courtesy lent an unwilling ear only to express disbelief immediately afterwards.

One out of ten in India, entertains an indistinct idea of such a race variously denominated as Vanía, Saráwak, or Jáina, who have a creed which enjoins the preservation of animal life: another, upon the same basis, contends that the Maharátas are equally liberal or tolerant in their articles of religion: and a third vouches that Bhudism absolutely demands this observance "in thought, and word, and deed;" and then he carries out his remark by drawing some extraordinary association with the Muslím, Brámínical, and Jáina, faiths comprised under his classification! Mr. James Prinsep's bold repudiation—subsequently confirmed by Mr. George Turnour of Ceylon—of the Lát of Feroz Sháh being of Muhammadan origin, but singularly and truly the erection of a Kándian monarch; startled yet not the less awakened the Indian scientific world to the strange epochs in the history they attempted to analyze! Upon like foundation, without similar popularity of character, denounce the Bhudism of India being no more the Bhudism of China than anything else, for a general want of corresponding characteristics being traced in the manners, actions, and laws, of the two—and, a hornet's nest is encountered; the theory is exploded by the more powerful force of public opinion; and we tread again upon the old beaten path until the wisdom of one greater than the first declaimer is shewn in

resuscitating the idea in some more plausible guise to afford it originality. Suddenly, a young soldier of high inspirations and brilliant parts—one formed to play an active character in the diplomatic feats of our Indian Government, and whose premature death closed the promise of long renown—alights upon a retired quarter, among marble temples raised upon lofty hills and within the proximity of placid lakes; amid the luxuriance and extravagance of nature and art: and, his enthusiastic spirit aroused the mortal genii who revelled in this strange creed, and his etching planted a Sanataria in that delightful retreat. That soldier was no other than the late *Sir Alexander Burnes*—those hills, of Abu—those temples, the handicraft of Vánías, or Saráwaks, or Jáinas, employ any name most labial or agreeable; the creators of those cavern fanes of Ajuntá, Elephanta, Elorá, Junír, Kárlí, Khanerí,—those magnificent temples of Dáilwárá, Gírnár, Pálitáná.* The

* Sir Alexander Burnes furnished the *Bengal Asiatic Society* with his remarks upon the deified conclave of the Jáinas. Bishop Heber had his attention directed to the remains at Abu through Colonel Tod's communications to a friend, which appeared in a *Calcutta Magazine*. Tod, writing upon this subject many years afterwards, expresses himself in this painful vein—"The discovery was my own: to Aboo I first assigned a local habitation and a name, when all these regions were a *terra incognita* to my countrymen, and if I am somewhat jealous of my rights in this matter, it is the sole recompence for the toils I have gone through, and no small deterioration of health as well as of purse." The most elaborate, and best critical, observations upon the Abu temples which I have seen, are in MS; they anatomize and illustrate the Jáina architecture with a skill and perspicuity as yet unknown to the public: they are the production of an officer of the Bombay Engineers, who was cut off in the prime of life. The papers are now in the possession of a gentleman of the Civil Service.

Captain Gill—the officer employed by the Supreme Government for taking views of the sculpture—it is hoped will furnish the world with accurate detail respecting the shrines at Elorá. Captain Seely's *Wonders of Elora* certainly occasioned considerable astonishment upon the appearance of his work; but his remarks are hasty, superficial, and penned with utter ignorance of the tenets, the system of architecture, and the character,—of the Bhudists. Mr. Salt, *H. M. Consul at Bagdad*, and a friend of Sir James Mackintosh—furnished a very useful paper on the Elephanta caves to the Literary (now the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic) Society. Mr. Erskine, of the Bombay Civil Service, did likewise, some years afterwards, with a fanciful analogy between the Brámin and Christian Trinity. Dr. Bird's *Historical Researches*, recently published, will be noticed while treating upon this school of design.

splendour of art merited their attention in the homage of their gods; while a tenderness to life acknowledged the impressions of their hagiology in its rigid exercise.

And what are Pánjrápolas?—Receptacles for maimed, lamed, injured and aged, brutes or birds. A large plot of ground is occupied by sheds used as stables, crowded with cages, and commanding an ample courtyard. Here may be seen crippled cattle, and all the varieties of the brute species appertaining to the domestic genera—decayed animals, however ferocious or vicious; in fine, an Asylum for animate creatures not of the human kind. The squalor, the odour, the fœtid atmosphere—will not compensate a visit: look into a filthy stable crowded with horses, dogs, oxen, &c.—a sort of Augean affair,—and the most accurate idea is entertained of a pánjrápola. It is the theory that is admired—the practical system is, here at least, radically bad,—and there it may be left. If, however, curiosity is whetted, Surát is peculiarly fortunate in possessing an ancient and extensive institution, and the tourist can amply gratify the desire for personal inspection.

The maintenance of these institutions is contrived by donations made by Saráwaks chiefly, while other classes of natives contribute their mite: the object is in general repute, and even Pársís are known to throw a trifle into its treasury. It is not unusual for folks visiting such an establishment, to be shewn the charity-box—no insignificant method of soliciting a donation, and rarely unnoticed. Ovington ushered into birth the idea, that mendicants are availed of towards affording vermin an agreeable repast; and—in point of fact, though wholly destitute of truth—it appears to have belief with a few still.* A cleverly written letter, published some

* "Near this Hospital is another built for the preservation of Buggs, Fleas, and other Vermin, which Suck the Blood of Men; and therefore to maintain them with that choice diet to which they are used, and to feed them with their proper fare, a poor man is hired now and then to rest all night upon the cot, or bed, where the Vermin are put, and fasten'd upon it, lest the stinging of them might force him to take his

years ago at Bombay, smartly handles the subject.* Otherwise, FORBES makes mention of a tortoise being known to live here for some eighty years; numbers of maimed animals have dragged out a quiet existence: and however the civilized world may regard these foundations, they will continue to command charity of feeling for misfortunes which cannot express themselves in the clear terms of humanity—but, the bitter cry, the complaining tear-bedewed eye, are unmistakeable evidences of physical anguish as keen as that suffered by soul-gifted mortals. The subject is a wide one for observation—censure and commendation.

flight before the morning, and so they nourish themselves by sucking his blood, and feeding on his Carcass." *Voyage to Suratt in the year* 1689. *By* F. OVINGTON *M. A. Chaplain to His Majesty. Published in London* 1696. p. 301. In the presence of such testimony we have HAMILTON (Walter)'s *Hindostan* asserting in 1820—"The most remarkable institution in Surat is the Banyan Hospital, of which we have no description more recent than 1780. * * * * The most extraordinary ward was that appropriated for rats, mice, bugs, and other noxious vermin, for whom suitable food was provided!" CARERI, who was here in 1695, writes—"A young Frenchman conducted me to see an Hospital of the Gentiles, where abundance of irrational creatures were kept. * * * * But that which most amazed me, though I went thither to that purpose, was to see a poor wretch naked, bound hands and feet, to feed the bugs or punaises, fetched out of their stinking holes for that purpose." *Voyage round the World,* 1693 at 1699; translated from the Italian. Vide also CHURCHILL'S *Collection of Travels,* Vol. IV.

* "*Give these fellows a good thing, and they never know when to have done with it.*"——CRITIC.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY COURIER.

SIR,—There is a certain number of old Indian stories, *nautice* "Tough yarns," that seem destined to live for ever in spite of scepticism and contradiction. There are two most striking instances; one is the story of the *Surat Beggars who hire themselves out by the night, to feed fleas and bugs with their own blood.* Another of the *Climbing Perch*, an adventurous fish, who is in the habit of recreating himself by leaving his native element to climb to the tops of the brab trees. Whether to look for food, to take the *air*, or merely to scratch himself against the sharp edges of the leaves, does not appear. However this *fact* is consecrated to the illustration of Natural Theology in one of the late *Bridgewater Treatises:* then, who dares to doubt it? Hamilton Buchanan had the audacity to do so (vide "*Fishes of the Ganges*")—but does any one listen to him? Oh no! it is too good a thing to part with. But my business is with the Surat story, for I have never been to the top of the brab trees in Travancore to angle for Perch, though I have recently been into the Banyan Hospitals or *Pinjra Pols* of Surat and Broach to look for the Beggars, the fleas, and the other lively materials of which this popular tale has been made up. Now this history is once more going the round of the newspapers in the shape of a

18*th November.*—Mrs Postans' *Western India* has gaily gossiped over the Surát race-course; Puthla-bádí, the late residence of Shadád, the Sín-dian ex-Amír; of old Tom, the inquisitive, mendacious barber: and, with fact and fiction happily blended in these, the fair enchantress ceases to exorcise other more potent spirits to be found in the compass of a city—once proud,

notice in the "Times" of the new edition of Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs.* For a wonder, the reviewer doubts. I will take this opportunity of offering an explanation of the origin of the story. A celebrated traveller, who does honor to our establishment, and who has given a general description of these hospitals, will best know if I am right. If he has any direct evidence, such as having seen the beggars *flea'd alive,* I give up the point. If not, may "the glorious martyr San Ponchio *abogado contra las Chinches,* protector against bed-bugs," defend us from a belief in this Indian legend!

In each of these Pinjra Pols (Surat and Broach) is a sort of cock-loft, to which you ascend by a ladder. In this chamber is deposited all the bad grain of the bazars, especially such as may contain those destructive little insects called *Weevils* (Calandra)—a particular account of which, including the kinds which attack our rice and jowarree, may be found in Kirby and Spence's *Entomology.* Every different grain nourishes a distinct species. The damaged grain is allowed to remain, and these creatures to breed among it *ad libitum.* These weevils move about with great agility, and as in colour and size they are more like fleas than lobsters, (which we know have been confounded), I have no doubt that they have been mistaken for our lively tormentors. I went into the middle of the cock-loft at Surat, and hunted very carefully for fleas, but in vain. The people in charge of the place denied the history of the beggars. The whole affair appears very like a job. The place was filled with healthy bullocks, cows, calves, cocks and hens, and milch goats, which no doubt bring in a snug little revenue to the managers. One animal there was decidedly an object of charity. He excited very much the sympathy of my fellow travellers,—an ancient monkey retired from the world. Judging from the length of his tongue, which was double the natural size, he must have been a great spokesman among his caste of Monikins,—doubtless an *agitator,* in which case, no one would grudge *him* a pension, or a "full share of the off-reckonings" of milk and ghee, or peradventure, a little "*rint.*" Now, Mr. Editor, excuse me for troubling you with this letter, which some may think trivial, but joking apart, as long as the beggar tale might pass for a mere Indian yarn, there was no great harm in it. But mark! The other day I took up a book of instruction for children, Evening Amusements, I think—there was a conversation between (say) Lucy and Mamma, to the following purport:—

"*Mamma.* Now Lucy, my dear, must not the natives of India be very miserable indeed, to be obliged to submit to be bitten by such vermin in order to procure food?

"*Lucy.* Very miserable indeed, Mamma!!!"

Really trotting the poor *Baba lok* (children) in this way is too bad.

I am, your's, &c.

Deckhan, 31*st May,* 1836. C. L.

[Bombay Courier, 11*th June,* 1836.]

Coleman's *Hindu Mythology* repeats the old story of the vermin and weevils: *vide* article Jains.

opulent, stirring; still possessing multitudes of human creatures, but 'how hath the mighty fallen?' Still a city, but in ruins—by fire, flood, and famine; by more powerful agencies than human machination could divine; poor and dilapidated, the personification of bankrupt power—a lesson as striking as the retrospective view of CHILDE HAROLD from the Mediterranean upon the annihilated Empires of Ancient History on the borders of that sea! Turn the page of every traveller who has groped through ruined glory—VOLNEY at Thebes, LAMARTINE at Palestine, STEPHENS at Yucatan; it is the same dark tragedy in nations which forms the chaos of individual life—the rise, the acmé of strength, the decay; other things succeed, and the world progresses in the same way as when time first winged its course upon our original parents. It is to such comparisons or associations—treat the point as one will—that the world is sometimes indebted for the sublime masterpieces of intellectual creation.

Alas, fair lady! (for presumption would idealize Mrs. POSTANS in her work,) beyond these points and the presence of delightful rides in the city's vicinity—why did thy pen falter upon equally happy topics? There, is the Bangáli knave who served as *Khansamá* to the Iron Duke when in India, and who is the only domestic that never pilfered the host of masters whom he has quitted to gratify his caprice: there, are the elegant figures of the naughtiest-tongued creatures—the fisher-women: and many another like tale. Yet, when we remember Thevenot bestowing a whole chapter, and Mandleslo equally prolix, upon the *Thádi* or nectarine juice of the Indian-palm—so sweet, so delicate in its flavour, so exquisite to the palate,—commiseration is readily found and conceded to the scribbling generation!

Among the numerous trading tribes who once flocked here—not a Jew is to be found; half a dozen poor and decrepid Armenians—how influential, how respected, and how rich, was this race in the palmy days of

Surát!—with a tottering chapel, its portal closed, and its altar unacquainted with the sacerdotal services of their Eutychian Church; no stalwart Arabian; no meek-eyed Persian; no sharp denizens of the Malabar Coast;—none of these dare to countenance the fallen city! From its own ashes will it rise again, like another Phœnix: the towering elements of steam abroad and at play with contributive forces in the land, will spread a happier, bolder, more prolific existence—the indigenous resources of the country are abundantly ample for the most extensive measures. But this is mere digression.

STAVORINUS tells of the gratification he derived in going over the grounds of the *Begam* (princess)'s garden—planned for a sister of Aurang-zíb—with Thevenot's volume in hand; and remarks upon the accuracy of the French traveller. It was then in embryo decay: it is not now known even by name. The palace occupied by the late Nawáb of Surát is upon the domains of *Zulam-ka-bhág*, or Garden of Oppression: it is a heavy oblong structure, crowded with a variety of furniture, Indian paintings, blemished mirrors,—and graced with two miniature apartments holding a large diversity of toys, fancy glass-ware, and wretched French engravings; amply testing the low vitiated tastes of its last noble occupant: Bishop Heber observes in his Journal of the rumoured debauched habits of this unfortunate prince. The Saráglío is a plain, trim-storied building, after the disagreeable native style now in vogue. A small *bangalá* adjoining is used as an office by the present tenant of the desmaines—Mír Jáffar Alí, son-in-law to the late Nawáb. In a long glass-case in the palace I noticed a fair collection of Arabic and Persian MSS., many of them exquisitely finished. The property of the late Nawáb is under sequestration by Government until a definite settlement of present existing disputes.

About a mile from Zulam-ka-bhág is the *Málmud-í-bhág*—the detached building at which FORBES declares in his time to bear a striking

resemblance to Pliny's retreat at Laurentinum* or a Tusculan villa; its present appearance is not dissimilar to most Mogli constructions, with an open courtyard in the centre supported by open varándas, the only wall of which is indiscriminately niched for the Indian cruse: it could never have been intended for any other than a pleasure-retreat. The grounds about are now sown with vegetables. But the happiest portion of this property is the fast decaying entrance, composed of a lofty elliptic archway not unlike that of the Darbár, but superior in point of finish and peculiarity of structure: the wooden frame-work, which formed the petite balconies overhanging the road-way, is absolutely crumbling. This garden—as it is still denominated—also comes under the inventory of the estates of the late Nawáb.

The most recent construction of this kind is at *Afzul-bhág*, on the verge of the race-course. Though mortar has been bountifully employed, the building is both clumsy and filthy. It comprises a couple of rooms below, with a similar allowance of apartments made on the first floor—which also possesses an open terrace neatly plastered; an extensive prospect of the open cultivated country is advantageously obtained here. This place was kindly offered to me as a residence during my stay, but I declined the proposal, from the isolated situation of the building, quite as well as the circumstance that not long ago an officer and his lady had been attacked and sadly wounded while putting up here.

22nd November.—Magian, Zoroastrian, Ghebar,—words that have employed the style of the historian, and the lyre of the poet: names associated with the glorious monarchy of Cyrus; the government of order, sobriety, and morality—one of the few thrones which regarded virtue as a model and

* The reader desirous of information on this point, might refer to NICHOLSON'S *Architectural Dictionary*; article *House*.

practised it as a duty:* appellations synonymous with the adoration of the god of day: burning epithets of an extinguished power now traced in the exiled *Pársí.* Routed, pursued, a kingdon lost, a country wasted yet not the less occupied by its victors—they fled from their ancestral homes and sought refuge, after wandering from quarter to quarter, at *Diváa*, familiarly known as Diu. Intermarriages with the native women of Hindusthán—supported by sundry interlocutory (for all that is known) engagements of observances by way of proviso for affording them settlement,—soon destroyed the race of the fugitives in its original force. They swelled, however, in number with increasing years, both Mobíd and Bedín; and there was Surát in the plenitude of her glory, and away flocked the busy, enterprizing generation—they scattered themselves about the country and raised the altar of their Jupiter Flamens at Udíwárá, Balsár, Náusárí, and Gandeví. The most skilful mechanics of the country—as shipwrights they acquired important advantages at Damán, and passing on to Bombay, they maintained the same predominant influence as artizans. The arena of Commerce was also a favorite field; bold, adventurous, yet prudent,—wealth was rapidly acquired, their importance as quickly followed.† Poor as Surát is at this

* "The Government of Persia was, upon the whole, singularly mild, and by far the noblest and the best of all the universal Empires which the world has ever seen." SCHLEGEL'S *History of Literature.*

† RAYNAL'S *Histoire de l'etablissement des Europeans dans les Indes* affords interesting information within brief compass: the italics are my own:—"Some Persians, who were prosecuted for their opinions by * * their conquerors, took refuge in, the isle of Ormus, whence they sailed some time after for India, and landed at Diu. In this asylum they continued but nineteen years, and then embarked again. They were driven by the winds upon a pleasant shore between *Surat and* Daman (and Bagaim *it is in the original.*) The prince who governed that country consented to admit them amongst his subjects, on condition that they should reveal the mysteries of their belief, that they should lay down their arms, that they should speak the Indian language, that their women should go abroad unveiled, and that they should celebrate their nuptials at the close of the evening according to the custom of the country. As these stipulations contained nothing repugnant to their religious notions,

moment, no mendicant of the tribe is to be seen: the men are variously employed in every branch of industry; and the women are actively engaged at the hand-loom in manufacturing a mixed fabric of Canton silk and indigenous Cotton, or at a description of embroidery used in the apparel of both sexes. the Government offices are crowded with sharp, smart, clever fellows, and the Government Schools are liberally supplied with pupils. (The Pársís have taken time and circumstances by the forelock; and with much of the European fire of enthusiasm and perseverance in them, blended with the adroitnèss of the Híndu,—they are enabled to maintain firmly every advancing step they make or gain.) In Surát, they have two *Ageris* or fire-temples—one erected mutually by Dádábhái Nasarwánjí and Shet Hormusjí Bahmanjí in Sanwat 1880, corresponding with 1824 of the Christian æra, and consecrated by Dastur Edaljí Dorabjí Rustamjí Sanjána; the second was raised at the expence of Pestanjí Kálabhái Wakíl, and consecrated by Dastur Sohorabjí Jamshédjí, in the same year.* The labors of Lord, Hyde, Prideaux, Anquetil du Perron,† Purgstall (better known as

the people who fled their protection agreed to them. * * * * A happy necessity made them contract a habit of labour, so that both the lands and manufactures prospered in their hands. They were so wise as not to interfere with government or war, and enjoyed profound tranquillity in the midst of all the revolutions that happened from time to time. In consequence of this circumspection, and of the affluence in which they lived, they multiplied very fast. They always remained a separate people, distinguished by the name of Parsis, * * * adhering to the principles which had occasioned their banishment. Their tenets were those of Zoroaster, somewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciousness of their priests." JUSTAMOND'S *Translation*. The late EARL OF MUNSTER—when Colonel Fitzclarence—enters into very agreeable detail in a Journal of his Indian tour, respecting a celebrated Pársí family of shipwrights at Bombay. Not unprofitably may also be read DR. WILSON'S *Parsí Religion Revealed*, which communicates the best known digest of the tenets of the sect; as well as the proemial observations to a powerful discourse, entitled the *Doctrines of Jehorah*, delivered upon the admission of two Pársí youths into the pale of the Christian Church.

* DR. WILSON'S *Narrative of a Missionary Journey in the North West of India*.

† For a character of this singular Frenchman, consult the works of SIR WILLIAM JONES. He is said to have become a Zoroastrian in profession, by change of attire and manner of living, to attain an acquaintance with the Pársís' theological works.

Baron von Hammer,) Burnouf, Westergaard, and Dr. Wilson, have given the world much, and might furnish more, interesting information from the ancient Pehlaví and Zend texts; in fine, the internal economy of the Pársí persuasion—of which we have still only a dim knowledge from the manuscripts which have already passed into European possession.

Hitherto I had discovered among the Pársís here, and the better portion of the native community, the constant mention of Ardasír—who had been so prominently thrust before the public in a recent newspaper discussion. A popular man, apparently, with the majority, and like all such, possessing a few lurking deadly foes among his own peoplé, as well as members of other classes of the Hindus; I was certainly not a little surprised upon enquiry to find the amount of actual good done the country and the citizens of Surát by this individual. I made myself acquainted with his history: and, as it will prove of interest to another generation though of little interest to himself—Ardasír will pardon me for embarking his name, and past events in relation to his life, upon general notice. A good portion of the information (I will confess) I elicited from him by occasional conversation, but for the main facts I am indebted to many who had known and associated with the proud Sadr Amín from boyhood.

(Ardashír* or Ardasír—the corruption of Artaxerxes—Danjísháh Báhádur Khán, the second son of Danjísháh Behrámand Khán, was born in this city in 1797. He is lineally descended from that Nek Sáut Khán* who in the early portion of the last century won the notice of the Mogul Emperor, and through the friendship of Morád Sháh (one of the Imperial Ministers, and a favourite at Court) became comptroller of the Surát *Tanká* or revenue in

* *Vide* d'HERBELOT; mot Ardashire.

† *Lord of the auspicious* (or seasonable) *hour:* an honorable appellation conferred by the Emperor along with certain Jághírs. He was previously employed as Mansubdár of 3000 infantry and 500 horse.

1760. The name of this Magian nobleman occupies a distinguished page in the annals of Anglo-Indian History, as the party through whose assistance some valuable *firmáns* were procured from the Great Mogul for the English, and the means by which certain munificent gifts were made to the British Chief of Surát and the East India Company upon the confirmation of our political alliance with Mía Achan, our position in the City, and with regard to the Mogul Navy. A singular legend—but not without the bounds of probability—prevails in Ardasír's household, relating to the first connexion of one of their ancestors with the Court of Agra; its anniversary is still celebrated with festivities, and large numbers of poor Muhammadans are fed on the occasion. About the dawn of the eighteenth century this individual attracted the attention of the ruling Nawáb of Surát for his knowledge of mechanics; who dispatched him to Agra in compliance with instructions generally circulated by the Emperor to secure such folk. The Imperial Despot had, in the interval, procured artizans from every quarter, and his valuable repository of scientific instruments, in which watches and clocks largely predominated, had been mutually ransacked and injured by way of keeping them in order; but had failed hitherto being in that condition suitable to the royal caprice: the genius of Barjarjí however prevailed, and the monarch, in grateful remembrance of his services, bestowed upon the Zoroastrian, Jaghírs of considerable value in the Surát parganná, conferring along with them the honorary title of Khán of the Empire—a distinction still retained in the family. Sir John Malcolm, at the bar of the House of Commons, acknowledged the important position of Ardasír's progenitors under the Mogli dynasty.†

Early in 1810, Ardasír had the misfortune to lose his father in the insurrection of Bodhán, brought about by a Muhammadan fanatic—a Gá-

* On Grand Juries in India. *Vide* MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT. Part XCVI.

† *Vide* APPENDIX C.

mudía Bohorá,—who dictated to the then Chief of Surat (as he was still denominated, though merely the Agent for the Governor of Bombay) the unequivocal terms of instant payment of five hundred rupees to his courier, or expulsion of the English from Surát. Mr. Nathan Crow, to whom the message was delivered, promptly ordered a party of dragoons and infantry to the scene of the enthusiast's encampment at Bodhán—a town appertaining to the Mándawí principality, and situated about sixteen miles to the S. E. of Surát,—where Danjíshâh Behrámand Khán, under instructions conveyed to him as Native Agent of the Government, attempted pacific arrangements; but he had scarcely communicated with the insurgents, when swords had leaped from their scabbards and dispatched the diplomatist on the longer and graver mission of eternity.* The British Government, in consideration of the services of Behrâmand, and the loss sustained by his family, bestowed upon his widow a pension of three thousand rupees per annum, to maintain the appearances and dignity of his house.

Little is known of the youth of Ardasír beyond his having engaged himself in very early life in a public capacity. The situation of Deputy Kotwâl of the City of Surát—soon after followed by that of *Amín* or Commissioner—was bestowed on the young aspirant to fame, through the patronage of Mr. Crow, who since the father's death had invested his interest in the surviving children. Ardasír gave promise at this period of much that his maturer years more amply developed:—his conceptions were original, bold, and systematic; his knowledge of the country, its people, and their characteristics, considerable; his acquaintance with English, extensive (though falling short of his brother's capacity † in this respect, and) regarding the

* Vide Appendix B.

† Ferozshâh Danjíshâh Khán died a few years ago. He was a favorite with the Bombay Government. He had been honored with a Khílát; and upon retiring from employment the Government bestowed upon him in perpetuity a Jághír of the annual rental of Rs.12,000, in acknowledgment of his long, faithful,

difficulties and the absence of any facilities for being acquainted with it in the opening of the present century in India; his talents generally, of a high order; and his character, happily intermingled with enthusiasm and generosity.

Among the natives of Western India he stands alone at this period for his abilities, his energy, and his unwearied zeal for the Government he served, the country which gave him birth and his countrymen refuge in exile. To form any idea of the state of Surát at this time, and to appreciate the exertions of Ardasír, it must be borne in mind that both the city and the river were plagued with robbers and pirates equally daring and adroit. The indolent avariciousness of the citizen was exposed to the rapacity of his needy neighbour, at whose means the villainous Kolí of Gujarát could be introduced into his dwelling; and the nature of such felonies was frequently rendered more atrocious by the commission of murder: but the stealthiness and security with which such feats were performed wholly defeated the aim and the ends of justice. Nor was the system of piracy any half-handed measure: the *Gifts of the Ocean* (the happy soubriquet) were shared from Cambay north, as far southward as Damán—by a leagued fraternity, whose emissaries were too frequently the servants or friends of the enterprizing merchant. It was nothing unusual to learn of singular storms and stranger shipwrecks; yet Swálí nest or Thárí hole had received many hundred bales of cotton or richer spoil both unsoiled by the sea and unknown to any voyage but that of the river. The gains were equally distributed; which permitted the existence of the band such a series of years. But, even this ne-

and meritorious services. He had been successively Sadr Amín of the Surát Adhálat, Native Agent for the Honorable the Governor, Collector of several districts, and Superintendant of the Government share of the Dharampur and Bánsadá States. Ferozsháh is said to have been a man of gentle manners; but a keen politician.)

farious, audacious, and extensive plot, perished under proper vigilance and due discrimination.*

Mr. Anderson, lately Governor of Bombay,—a man of severe thought and determined principles of action,—when Session Judge of Surát, had bestowed some attention on this subject, but was at fault as to the means of extirpating these evils, and he bent his eye upon a young and adventurous instrument for accomplishing the required purpose: his penetration of character found in Ardasír the willing engine. From this period is to be dated the extraordinary exertions of Ardasír for Surát; instantly diverting his notice to the amount and nature of the existing sores, he probed their extent and then resorted to remedial steps.

The employment of his energies for the State did not terminate in the suppression of the grievances noticed: they were followed, by re-modelling the Police of the City—the introduction of an establishment of *Dondías* or watchmen—an improved Gaol discipline, quite as well as the foundation of a paper manufactory to engage the time of the prisoners in salutary pursuits,—and the improvement of the roads. Amid these trying labours he devoted a large portion of his time in rendering considerable assistance to Mr. Borradaile, of the Civil Service, in a valuable work prepared for the Government, which that gentleman had the candour to admit without Ardasir's services the undertaking must altogether have failed.

The intricate, the substantial, the important, services of Ardasír induced the Government in November 1825 to bestow upon him a *Khílát*, or honorary garb, in that manner most gratifying to the pride of the recipient. The ceremony was performed in open Darbár by the Agent for the Honorable the Governor, and the opportunity availed of to present Ardasír with

* Hamilton (Walter,) Drummond, and others, have entered into detail upon this point.

five thousand rupees. On this occasion a Petition signed by eight hundred of the principal Native residents of Surát, was delivered to the Agent, expressive of the pleasure experienced in this prominent notice of the efforts of their fellow citizen for the general security and weal of the community.

In 1828—at the request of the Government,—Ardasír entertained Prince Mírzá Muhammad Berám, brother to the King of Delhí, who presented him upon his departure for Mekka with a *Sarpej* and sword, in acknowledgment of the hospitality experienced by the Prince during his stay at Surát. These gifts were subsequently allowed Ardasír by the Government.

Upon the 22nd December 1829—and during his stay at Surát,—Sir John Malcolm, the then Governor of Bombay, by way of particularly marking the meritorious labors of Ardasír, at a special Darbár held, to which were summoned all the principal personages in and about Surát, invested him with a *Khilát*, and conferred the title of *Bahádur*—in themselves no ordinary honors, but which in this instance were accompanied by the presentation of a horse with rich trappings, and a Jághír of the annual rental of three thousand rupees; promising Ardasír, at the same time, to send him a Gold Medal. Upwards of twenty thousand natives had assembled to witness the ceremony and to signify their thanks to the Governor for the honors paid Ardasír. General Hessman was ordered to afford a strong military force to give importance to the occasion, and a company of infantry escorted Ardasír, with a military band, to his residence.

In 1830, the Judicial Commissioner, Mr James Sutherland, having received special instructions from the Government of Bombay, held a Darbár on the 14th of December to carry into effect the intentions of the Honorable the Governor in presenting Ardasír the promised Medal. In the presence of a large concourse, composed of European and Native gentlemen,—after a long, eloquent and appropriate speech in Hindustháni, detailing the several valuable and useful services rendered by Ardasír to the

State and the community of Surát, and ably expatiating upon the high sense entertained by Government of this public servant,—Mr. Sutherland delivered to Ardasír. the gift of the Bombay Cabinet. It is a plain round slab of gold, bearing the following inscription on one side—"This medal is presented to Ardaseer Dunjeeshah Bahadoor, Kotwal of "Surat, in token of the high sense entertained by the Bombay Government "of the diligence and fidelity with which he has performed his public duties "both as an officer of Police and in other capacities. 1st January, 1830."

The obverse bears a translation in Gujarátí.

Years have since fled, and Ardasír's unremitting ability, his unwearied zeal—remain unaltered; his assistance in the general affairs of the country, have continued to prove the theme of all his superiors. His counsel has been frequently sought, his opinion never disregarded; and his merits were found of no ordinary calibre in the diplomatic arrangements required in the affairs of Native States, particularly those of the Nawábs of Surát and Suchín and the Ráná of Dharampur. In the last matter where the pecuniary embarrassments of the prince had been so promptly and satisfactorily arranged while Ardasír was Native Agent to the Governor, the Hindu chieftain, in grateful recollection of the Zoroastrian's intervention, summarily thrust upon him a village affording a yearly revenue of two thousand rupees, which Ardasír with his usual spirit declined to accept; a reference was subsequently submitted by the Ráná to the Bombay Government on the subject, and the expected negative reply ensued.

Despite all these endeavours, by one of those unaccountable and unforeseen circumstances that cloud the most prosperous career at some period or other of a lifetime, Ardasír had to submit to a painful persecution, which terminated in his honor remaining unscathed.

The personal appearance of Ardasír is indicative of the character of the man. Above the ordinary height in stature, and with an inclination in

frame towards corpulency; his past active life, and the bitter misfortunes he has sustained, have brought on premature age. For a Pársí, he is in complexion extremely fair, though the face is gently pitted by that scourge—the small-pox; with small piercing black eyes; and the nasal organ not of that mould peculiar to his countrymen; while boldness and firmness may be instantly traced in the lower portion of the features. His mind is still clear and vigorous: and he is supported in the promise of the future by a son—his only child; a handsome and clever lad of about ten years of age.

Ardasír now holds the sole appointment of Principal Sadr Amín.*

26th November.—An unpleasant cold caught some days previously, uneasiness of mind, disagreeable weather—prevented my proceeding beyond the English Burial-ground, the day I had proposed to devote to wandering among tombs and in graveyards, by way of plucking from oblivion many a name which Time's sad hand was rapidly effacing, and before the ingenuity of knavery could tear the marble slab to be employed for a fresh epitaph, or converted it into an elegant grindstone for the *cuisine*—no uncommon occurrences here, though they grate harshly upon the nervous system. A few, very few, gorgeous Mausolea now exist. It is lamentable to witness the split domes, the tottering cupolas, the broken shafts of noble pillars—decay of an order, painful, active, pregnant—not of that soft, patient nature which wrung those brilliant stanzas from Lord Byron in the exordial lines of the *Giaour*. The impressions felt and expressed by Washington Irving in treading the aisles and vaults of Westminster Abbey are more quickly awakened, more acutely experienced here:—within these cemeteries lie entombed those who struggled for dominion; men whose breasts were imbued with an indomitable ambition, and whose monuments were apparently intended not for ages only but the end of time! With the ter-centenary page,

* Which he has since resigned for a pension.

we notice the grovelling wish being consumed in kindred dust; and before long scarcely will one stone be found above another, as if a Titus had issued this razing proclamation. Where then is the voice of narrow desire, soliciting an existence of the reign of Britain, should her power be extinguished in India? Not in palaces, nor in such trophies will the victor exult; but he will have to eradicate a more durable fabric—*the language of Britain.* Another half a century and it will be the only medium of intercourse, with the efficient plans now being carried out by the Government, and those philanthropic men—the saviours of this benighted land—Christian Missionaries; and strange as it may appear, with almost prophetic certainty it may be determined—that while the speech of ancient times is no more than a dead letter, the language of England has the promise of a long futurity in North America, in Australasia, in all our Colonial possessions, and verily too, in British India. The sceptical laugh may be ushered into birth by such a statement—nevertheless, a few years will more tangibly test the worth of an assertion thus hurriedly hazarded.

But, we are amid Tombs—in the Dutch burial-ground: fewer in number but greater in variety are the monuments, shrouded by the wild custard-apple trees that luxuriate here in wantonness, or embraced by some wild parasite, which the scorching heat of October has not been able to destroy. The cemetery occupies rather an elevated site; and, as the area is entered, to the left may be noticed a small hut tenanted by a gardener and his family, who maintain a thriving livelihood by the proceeds of the fruit grown here, and the *méndhí* (*Lawsonia inermis*) dried within the shade of the larger sarcophagi. Grand, noble, for the expanse of ground it covers, its height, its peculiar style of sculpture—is the mausoleum* erected over the last resting-place of M. Van Reede, whom Oriental

* Olof Torren—the Swedish Chaplain—writing in 1750, expresses astonishment that without the assistance of either Roman or Grecian style of architecture so magnificent an erection could arise.

History pays the tribute of eulogy in denominating the *Mœcenas of Malabar*. At a period when European residents in India wholly directed their attention to mercantile adventure, or attempted political aggrandizement, *he* could spare the leisure to devote to scientific research; and his labors have provided Holland with many valuable manuscripts and other equally important curiosities, while some of his statements still challenge enquiry. His *Hortus Indus Malabaricus*, a work in twelve volumes folio, is an evidence of his literary exertions. It was Baron Reede's translation of the Copper inscriptions in the Jewish Synagogue at Cochin which elicited that severe scrutiny on the part of Dr. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN (who accompanied the Marquis of Wellesley to India) into their originality.* Several other circumstances in relation to the government and private deportment of this extraordinary man are before the public, but they fall within the compass of a graver work than the present.

A figure approaching that of the decagon with pillars running along the open varándá, compass a walled apartment pierced with carved wooden windows: in the centre of this chamber a single tombstone marks a vault with more occupants than the Dutch official. Three of the niches around the room are indulged with wooden tablets: one, hanging above the head of the tomb, recounts the subjoined particulars of M. Van Reede; another facing it is scarcely legible; while one portion of the third—which is placed midway—dangles by a nail upon the wall, and its remnant is to be seen without among a lot of rubbish and dried méndhí. A spiral stone stairway leading directly from, and to the left of the tomb, conducts to the strong exposed terrace, with plain columns supporting a cupola of no particular school of design—though the Islamite style has doubtless been

* A translation of these in English has been more accurately effected by the late Mr. C. M. WHISH, of the Madras Civil Service. If the reader should desire a perusal of these important papers, he is referred to the Appendix of Dr. WILSON'S *Lands of the Bible*, Vol. II.

studied throughout—but combining a taste for the fanciful and an anxiety for the superb. STAVORINUS writing in 1775, remarks—"The burying-place "of the Dutch merits the attention of the traveller, as there is scarcely any "grave that has not a tomb with lofty spires upon it; the meanest have a "grave-stone with a sculptured epitaph. That of M. Van Reede, Commis- "sary General of the East India Company over the Western Factories, excels "all the others in largeness of dimension, elegance of architecture, magni- "ficence of ornament, and richness of material, and is kept in repair at the "expence of the company; for which purpose not long ago, about six thou- "sand rupees, or nine thousand guilders, were charged in account to the "Company." The English translator of his work adds a note worth the tran- scribing—"When *Thevenot* was at Surát, this monument was then building; *Ovington* mentions it and calls it a noble pile."

The Inscription.

HIER RUST
HEI LICHAAM VAN
ZYN HOOG EDELHEYT
D. H—*Hendrik Adriaan*
Baron Van Reede
TOT *Drakesteyn* HEERE van
Meydiegt
ONDER DE ORDRE VAN DE RIDDER
SCHAB EN UYT DE SELVE ORDRE
GECOMMITTEERD IN DE ORDINARIS
GEDEPUTEER DE VAN D'ED^lo MOGEND
HEEREN STAATEN S LANDS VAN
Utregt
COMMISSARIS VAN DE GENERALE
NEDERLANDER GEOCTROYEER DE
OOST INDISCHE COMPAGNIE OVER

India

REPRESENTERENDE IN DIER QUALITE

De VERGADERINGE DER Ed^le H^ren

XVII^en

OVERLEDER DEN 15^en DECEMBER

A^o 1691

OP't SCHIP DREGTERLANT ZYLENDE

VAN *Cochim* NAAR *Souratta*

OP DE HOOGLE VAN DE ENGELSE

STERKTE *Bombai;*

OUD ONGEVAER

56 *Jaaren.*

The armorial bearings painted on a black field upon two pieces of wood, cut in lozenge form, may be discovered amid a heap of broken timber without the mausoleum—the painting is sadly defaced. The only portion which could be deciphered of the slab facing M. van Reede's epitaph runs to the following purport.

BASTIANA THEODORA D'LE BOUCQ

Grenulinni van den E: E; Agtl: Heer

JAN SCHREUDER

Directeur en Opper Geluder

7 MAY 1743.

A Ship's Steward—who is reputed to have been the father of a Prince of Orange, and a vicious wine-bibber—is said to have had a tomb here, crowned by a clay punch-bowl, in which his favorite drink was mixed once a week by his friends to regale upon; each point of the tomb was also furnished with the resemblance of a sugar-loaf. The tomb upon Stavorinus's visit was in decay. Carelessness and time have worked both sufficiently and efficiently in this desolation. It was mentioned to me, that the Dutch Government at one time allowed a trifling annuity to the Roman Catholic

clergyman here to look after the cemetery: distance (coupled perhaps with other and less disagreeable circumstances) appears to have blunted those sensitive impressions which early associations had fostered, and this gratuity has been permitted to lapse, followed by neglect on the part of the priest to the trust with which he had once been charged.

1st *December.*—Some two years ago, a party of enterprizing natives determined upon employing a small floating capital at the control of each, towards introducing a description of European manufacture into Surát, which would afford a paying dividend upon their monied investment, while at the same time a new resource would be controlled for the laboring poor—nor was it forgotten that this measure would be the precursor to more important schemes of a similar tendency. This feeling was mainly produced by a couple of lectures given by an acquaintance * during a tour made in Gujarát with a view of seeing the Cotton country; and his eloquent enthusiasm in behalf of the neighbouring population, exhibited in strong colors, the proportional profit to be derived from a rupee's worth of raw cotton upon being wrought into thirty rupees value of substantial material. Time wore on, and the youthful portion of his auditory on these occasions now attempted to test practically the virtue of the figures then shewn, while a dash of plausible philanthropy was thrown into the scale to give the proceeding an air of importance, quite as well as to secure the sympathy and assistance of liberally disposed Europeans. It was necessary, however, in such a matter to appeal to the opinion of some able and scientific individual—one, who had the good of the country at heart, and whose judgment might be fairly trusted: the votes of the members of this embryo association were simultaneously in favor of Captain George Fulljames of the Bombay Army, a name of some

* Mr. R. Carr Woods, Member of the Royal Geographical Society of France and of other Scientific Institutions; at present in the Eastern Archipelago, where he continues to engage his leisure hours in matters of interest to the literary world.

value in the annals of Oriental research. A Paper Manufactory worked by steam was the project: with an assumed capital of a lák of rupees, to be derived by a Joint stock proprietary comprising five hundred shares of two hundred rupees each share. Captain Fulljames, with his known benevolence, interested himself promptly and efficaciously in the undertaking, and competent parties at home were addressed upon the subject soliciting estimates and every other data in relation to the proposal set on foot. Such estimates and such data eventually arrived, and more than three hundred shares had been taken up in the interval; several meetings of shareholders then ensued; a deal of discussion followed upon these appointments being kept, and vaporous liberality expressed;—for months it so continued, and the scheme soon remained in *statu quo*.

By another like chimerical whim, the feasibility of a Cotton Steam Loom was suggested, and that the paper manufactory scheme should be allowed to emerge into it: the idea was certainly a more rational one, considering the crude material being at the very door of the adventurous speculators. A like course of correspondence terminating in like results, issued; and this undertaking was now in a state of dormancy. My partial acquaintance with commerce led the principal projectors to wait upon me, and as a Spinning Association had already commenced its labors at Bombay, it was contended that early and vigorous efforts should be made here to give an impetus to this establishment. In placing the whole of their past correspondence before me, explaining their aim and anticipated expectations—I met the parties half way by unravelling their course, and before they proceeded any further with the host of chimeras, in which they appeared to indulge. I urged, at the very onset, that a capital of five and twenty láks of rupees in a sea-port town, and in so expensive a locality as Bombay, would stultify their proceedings hither, unless conducted on a like liberal principle:

they must either drive out their competitors or join them—there was no other alternative. The Surát Company commanded important advantages: land was cheap—cotton was procurable for almost the mere picking—and labor, comparatively, had for nothing. And, if no very enormous dividend could be declared the first few years; of the ultimate success of their Association there could scarcely be a question. Another, and most important, feature in favor of their undertaking—was the very extensive field in Gujarát alone for the sale of their manufactures, from the fortunate prejudice which prevailed among the poorer classes to purchase local productions, however inferior and proportionately expensive to European fabrics ever so superior and cheap. It was then resolved by the parties who met at my *bangalá*—that, a meeting of shareholders should be convened (by circular and beat of drum) on an early date—that, the capital should be fixed at ten láks of rupees; one half, forming a reserve fund, or properly to be unallotted for the present—that, a stamped deed of co-partnership, executed under legal acumen, ought immediately to be entered upon—and that, I should be charged with the superintendence of the *projét* until the appearance from home of more adequate ability.

A few evenings after I was escorted to the spacious dwelling of a retired Pársí gentleman, where upwards of a hundred persons, comprising the wealth and respectability of the native community, had assembled to receive and combat these propositions. I was very kindly accompanied on this occasion by two disinterested parties, who wished the cause every success. The new scheme, and entire minutiæ attendant upon its operation, were translated into Gujarátí, for the benefit of many who did not understand English. Then, arose a frothy discussion, and the *et-ceteras* concomitant upon such a meeting. The finalé amounted to this: that the individuals present were quite willing to embark in such a speculation as the one

proposed—that they were fully prepared to participate in the benefits to be derived, but really—it was an enigma they themselves could hardly resolve—they preferred their monetary resources within their coffers: they admired the benefit to the working classes, the prospect of Surát once again realizing her past fame; but they practised philanthropy as a theoretical good not as a matter of arithmetical deductions—and, thus they continued. The hum, the scattered knots of argumentative disputants, the variety of postures assumed, the numerous snuff-boxes set in employment by corpulent old gentlemen, and the areca-juice cast by fashionable young gentlemen—formed a scene worthy a Titmarsh's pen or a Cruickshank's crayon. As the hour of nine was announced, in rising to take my leave, I availed myself of the opportunity to remark that I had presented myself at their solicitation; and that, whatever the result of their present deliberations, my leisure was always at their command. I parted then from a goodly, but a noisy, throng.

This morning—lamentable to say—I learn that I had been present at the death of the *Surát Cotton-Spinning Association!*

4th December.—"If a Hindu but wash in the Ganges, if he but sip the waters of the Járí, if he but see the Revá or Narbaddá, and if he but only remember the Taptí—Paradise is his inheritance." Such is the legendary doctrine of a fabulous superstition: and the Taptí—with its tortuous course, its constant shifting beds, its turbid waters—continues to this day matter of no ordinary veneration with the Hindu bigoted to the prejudices of his fathers. "Is that fit for your worship"—enquires Jáina mysticism—"which you constantly defile? Thank God!"—he adds in true Pharasaical spirit—"such absurdity is not inculcated by my holy faith!" Is it the *Kárthal-punim*—the full moon of the first Hindu month? away wander damsels of every age to the river's side, and lave their delicate frames in the liquid glory of their water-deity. The Hindu mythology is still a closed

volume to us in many respects, and time will yet unravel much of that Gordian lore, often gross in conception, sometimes exquisite in its imagery, and at any time comparable to the majesty of the Pagan divinations of Greece and Rome.

A little beyond the military cantonments, chequered with its low long lines of tenements *etc* for sípáhi and officer—is a slip not so frequently in use now as in by-gone times. A vessel of eight hundred tons might with safety be built here to venture over the bar at spring-tides; but natives (now the principal shipowners) so contrive that a vessel of less draft may not encounter any probable contingency. The great detriment at the present time towards availing of Surát for building large craft, is the enormous charge for timber: however, the forests of Bánsadá and Dharamgám can still afford liberal supplies of teak.* The monopoly once acquired by Damán has long been destroyed; indeed, our present laws would prevent any partial opening to the Portuguese, in reviving their speculations in this form. So soon as the dry weather fully sets in, the cultivated tracts of land along the banks of the river are crowded with granivorous birds who work upon the poor farmer's charity to a larger extent than his narrow means will permit; and the absence of proper precautionary measures enables the depredators to carry out their gormandizing propensity most effectually.

All the buildings occupied by Europeans in Civil capacities are situated at the south-western quarter of the city. They are capacious in size, and roomy in point of apartments—but ill adapted for a Gujarát climate; they are old erections too, and perhaps with new houses for such residents, some better provision will be made against annoyances now experienced. The supply for any second class station under Government comprises the

* Dr. Gibson, the Conservator of the Forests of Western India, is actively employed in the cultivation of the *Bábul* (*Mimosa Arabica,*) in every available quarter.

Civilians and Military employed here. The Protestant Church has been noticed by more authorities than Bishop HEBER, and was built only so recently as 1820. The names of the brothers FYVIE (of the London Missionary Society) are respected as they continue unforgotten—their labors towards conversion may have proved apparently indifferent, but they have planted successfully the seeds of admiration for Christian piety and Christian pastors: may that season not be remote when the dew of heaven shall vigorously perfect the fruit of their exertions! A neat Mission Chapel has very lately been built in the Moglí Serái—it is always well attended.* The Station Library was founded in 1824 by DR. CARR, the present Bishop of Bombay, along with Mr. JOHN ROMER and other eminent personages connected with Surát at the time. It is deemed, without exception, the most valuable Mofussíl library in Hindusthán, possessing nearly all the narratives of the early travellers, an excellent collection of Historical and foreign works, and all the old Parliamentary reports upon Indian affairs. The proprietary is composed of three individuals—and two of these are natives. The Gaol is a strong, substantial building. Captain THOMAS POSTANS, of the Bombay Army, published in 1836 a Panoramic view of the City, taken from the Rándír coast: the sketch is an indifferent one, and time has since made sad havoc among some of the spots which the pencil still prettily illustrates.

In wandering through Surát, the decay of the labors of the architect does not so painfully remind of fallen magnificence as the degeneracy and indigence of the sons of those Moguls, Patáns, Afgháns, Murs—however various the denomination, however different their northern origin—who swept over and conquered these lands and flourished here in all the splendour of Oriental voluptuousness. Reduced in number, yet forming no

* The *London Missionary Society* opened this field in 1816; Messrs JOHN SKINNER and WILLIAM FYVIE were their first Agents. *Vide* HOUGH'S *Christianity in India.*

mean figure in the statistics of the city, their strength falls considerably short of the least sanguine expectation; and the breast of the philanthropist will experience no ordinary harrowing reflections in viewing the misery in which dwell the descendants of many a noble house. Poor almost to wretchedness, the Mogli here are far too proud to work, and 'to beg they are ashamed'; with much of the chivalric ardour of their forefathers—that love for the pleasures of the chase, and the honor of realizing their fame upon the field of battle—they may be seen idly lounging or parading in braggart consequence, with the sword constantly in hand; and, the very bedding may be pawned for sustenance, but that weapon—never, *never!* A more melancholy fate betides the daughters of the fair Odaliks of many a hero-warrior—with all that beauty of feature and charming *je ne sais quoi* expression of countenance which have extorted the most passionate poesy from Háfiz, Sádí, and the bards of amorous memory;—and the heart will be wrung at the extent to which vice and penury creep in amity, and in such fearful forms as seen in this place.

But, a more stirring class of people, who supply the western coast with the smartest and most active grooms and inferior house-servants, are the *dhers*, (out-casts) generally known under their indigenous designation of Surthís, deserve no little notice. They form without exception the most industrious class; and while much cannot be urged for provident habits, both men and women are constantly engaged in some lucrative employment. Though several partitions exist among them; their clamorous fisher-women and hardy fishers will win the observation of every tourist.

A description of wandering mendicants known as *hijírás*, whom report has variously charged with impotency (the signification of the vernacular), and a means to gratify an offensive passion, are somewhat numerous here. They habit themselves in the garments of women, divest themselves

of hair about their persons, arrange the hair of the head, and assume the style of speech, peculiar to the fair sex. Unless to a practiced eye, they will pass for females: the like ornaments are worn,—the particular gait even is pursued to a nicety. Custom has sanctioned these vagrants the privilege of festive congratulations in dance and song upon the birth of an heir to a household; and whether Hindu or Muhammadan, both bestow donations and afford countenance to these creatures. They are said to be gifted with divination, and have been known to decoy youths into their anomalous fraternity. Hindu and Muslim are promiscuously mixed among this itinerant band. In the event of the death of one of the latter, his corpse is denied the usual rites of sepulture by the priests of his sect.

The Hindus of Gujarát are regarded with contemptuous notice by the Maharátas; but, distinct from the Saráwak Vániás are the Misrí—a plodding, commercial race with many characteristics bearing no meagre resemblance to the Saráwak, but without the like creed, or any like anxiety to have an ancestry lost in the obscurity known to their Shástars. Wealth is now confined to a few—and those few, chiefly Hindus. There appears a growing appetite with these for dashing English equipages and high-blooded horses, of which they take every care, and display to no little advantage.

Official authorities have frequently attempted an accurate census; but however favorable, the reports submitted are of too vague a classification and considerably short of anything like a just estimate. Where every householder will have the honesty to prove candid in relation to this very trivial circumstance, there will be some prospect of placing dependance upon statements of this nature—as it is, the Government command no little merit for the labour and energy employed to effect a desirable aim.*

* "In 1798 the population of the City was estimated at 80,000 persons. Subsequently it had decreased. In 1808, it was reckoned at 144,355; and in 1818, 157,195." HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*. Now, it is estimated from ninety to ninety-five *thousand*; and that, during the rains—when there is not the influx and reflux of passengers which occur during the interval from every part of Gujarát, Marwar, and other North-Western Provinces.

Surát has long been famous for its cattle and its poultry:—its rich cream; and, according to the native estimate, its luscious confectionery. A decent dwelling-house may be had for a very few rupees per month, if taken for any defined period; and, living is cheap at a rate scarcely credible: the climate is agreeably dry, and it possesses a lovely sky—always bright and always blue.

Thus much for Surát—its buildings, its memories, and its people. It were unkindness to a brave name though now almost forgotten, and a bitter wrong to worth and valour, to leave this City without allusion to the *Nelson of the East* as he was justly called. For nearly half a century resided at Surát, and not many years ago died at Puná—JOHN EVANS, an Englishman by birth, and who singularly at the same time served the Bombay Government as an Artillery-man, and in charge of one of the Marine Cutters. His memory is indebted to friends more generous than discreet for a brief sketch of his career, wretchedly written and incoherently compiled. To this man's enterprize and prowess, are mainly due the final extinction of the offshoots which sprang from the famous Jínjíra pirates who infested our coasts and bearded our shipping at the mouth of Bombay harbour; who worried Admiral WATSON'S endeavours; and for whose successful defeat, as a body, it was necessary to call in the aid of our troops. Evans was idolized by his superiors,—the army and navy; he was the constant companion of the several Admirals who visited these seas in his time; at a grand parade he leaned upon the arm of the Duke of Wellington when a Sípáhi General, and subsequently breakfasted with him in public at the Presidency. He refused a Commission, which was told him would be the stepping-stone to high honors. His fault was being illiterate. But the Bombay Government, sensible of his services, afforded him the highest pension given a warrant officer—that of a Non-Commissioned Commissary of Ordnance—as some

acknowledgment of his brilliant exploits. In the decline of life, he was visited by every Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Western India, as 'the marvel of his age.' He had been wounded by every description of offensive missile; and though numbers had been extracted, he carried with him to his grave—several bullets in different parts of his body. His history belongs justly to the last century. His widow receives a miserable pittance; his children are unnoticed. But who will dare to question the acts of our generation, when the son of *our* WILKINS, and the grand-nephew of the great Sanscrit philologist, is a fifer in the Bombay Army. *O tempora! O mores!* the vicissitudes of life,—the caprice of mankind!

CHAPTER VI.

THE BOHORAS—European speculation as to their origin—General application of the term—Its probable derivation—The Ráfzí Bohorás and their varieties—Of the Dáwudí schism and its Agoumenoi—Other, and less important, sections—Features of general unanimity—Mrs Graham's remark.

THE fine spun theory which ascribed the origin of the Afgháns to the descendants of Saul, the first King of Israel, did not less startle the intellectual world, than the announcement that the Ráfzí Bohorás had their paternity in the tribe of Assassins (or *Husánís*) famed in the holy crusades of Palestine, for the startling deeds performed under the direction of their leader, the *Old Man of the Mountain* as he was denominated and as the annals of that age have conveyed it to us. For the latter assumption, Oriental History is indebted to SIR JOHN MALCOLM who ushered it into existence in his work on Persia,* without citing any authority to sanction the assertion; while it has been questioned by the sage COLEBROOKE for more reasons than the mere peaceful occupations of the tribe, and CONOLLY, in his account of Ujín† in disputing Malcolm's testimony, enters into lengthy and agreeable detail in reference to the fabled miracle performed at Cambay, and the probable period of Bohoráism spreading in India, but his lucubrations appear to have been penned under a belief that the Dáwudí sect alone came under this appellation.

The term *Bohorá* is promiscuously applied to two distinct classes of Muhammadans—the one being Sunís and the great agriculturists of the

* *History of Persia*, Vol. I., p. 395.

† *Bengal Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VI., Part II.

Konkan and Gujarát, consequently called *Gámudia;* while the trading tribes or Shías have challenged research—both classes having their origin in Hindusthán. A simple principle by which to draw such an inference—is the dress of the feminine branch of the different Muhammadan proselytes, who have not adopted the peculiar *izár* worn by the female progeny of the Muslím invaders of India along with their faith.* A similar trait may be observed in Hindu-Papists, now generally designated Portuguese, who still conform to their aboriginal costume—the distinguishing garb of the Kàthrí and other castes.† Among the intelligent of both descriptions of Bohorás, I have found sufficient candour to own their Indian ancestry —while the same peculiarities are characteristic of both, that in their avocations they are equally active, industrious, and skilful. Colonel MONIER WILLIAMS, the Surveyor General of Western India, in his *Memoir on the Zillá of Baroch* (published in London, some time in 1825) bears ample testimony to the labors of the cultivating Bohorás, and upon their authority apparently, ascribes their extraction for the "most part to Kolís and Rájputs, with perhaps a few Kunbís:" the period of conversion is attributed to the reign of Máhmud Shaháí the first, surnamed Bigadá, of Ahmedábád. The value however of such a statement, will be comparatively weighed, when placed in juxtapostion with the Muslím History of Gujarát, where the first of its Muhammadan Kings, (himself the son of a convert), and the father of Shaháí Ahmed, is said to have resolutely made a large number of Shía Bohorás embrace the Suní persuasion. The skill—if not the religious

* I must be particular with respect to the women of the Kojahá tribe, who have recently taken to the *izar* (loose trowser) in compliance with the mandate of their chief—the *Aga* as he is called. Though now a trivial, it may prove hereafter an important historical, point. A striking circumstance of Indian birth, is, that the men wear shoes and the women are always barefooted.

† About Bombay the *gagrá-kimão* are worn by women of the better classes known as *Fazendári, nother* etc.; also, the *pán-inther* or whole cloth, which is becoming obsolete in a preference for the former. The natives on the coast use instead, the *pán-báju.*

pride—of the historian, would make these Bohorás of Brámínical descent. Mr. Vaupell—a high authority on Gujarát matters—makes mention of this people as "common to the Broach, Ahmode, and Jumbooseer Purgunnahs; they say they are descendants of Abraham by Ketturah and the progeny of his son Ishmael: it is remarkable that they have nothing to do, or in common with the shop-keeping pedlar and Surat tribe of Borahs; they acknowledge not the authority of their high Priest, nor follow their rituals, but in their habits, customs, and manners, resemble more the Hindoos than Mahomedans: they say their High Priest resides at Randeir near Surat; they call themselves Char Yaree, in contra-distinction to the pedlar Borahs, whom they describe as Teen Yaree: their women dress like Hindoos, and themselves like Grassias: they are a frugal, industrious, and hard-working race of men."* The learned Orientalist in his simple narrative communicates simultaneously both the true origin, and the mawkish spirit in which their adopted faith was developed, by this poor race. Another important feature appertaining to the Shía Bohorás exclusively, is the use of the Gujarátí dialect, instead of Urdu, with which they are familiar, but it does not form the medium of either oral or written intercourse among themselves: this fact would perhaps warrant the assurance that these converts were originally natives of Gujarát. A further and very trite circumstance is the frequent termination of their names in *bháí* or *jí*, indigenous to Gujarát. The Ishmaelitish cast of countenance of these Bohorás might urge a belief that their paternal origin, at least, is Arabian—but the aquiline mould of the nasal organ is generally prevalent among the natives of India; the Pársís may be cited as an example, who have wholly lost their primitive appearance in their early intermarriages with the women of the country, but still possess as a body the Jewish nose. A note appended to the paragraph treating

* Vide *Transactions of the* Bombay Geographical Society—1844 at 46, Art. II.

upon Bohorás in MALCOLM's *Central India,* makes mention of a tribe of *Brámíns* from Náth-Devará in Mewár who also bear this denomination.

The word *Bohorá,* has occasioned not a little speculation. An ingenious, yet not overscrupulous, philology, attributes it to the Pracrit *vohorá,* signifying a trader; and as the Ráfzí schism is proverbially given to commerce, the epithet is thus made applicable to the race. A recent article in the CALCUTTA REVIEW traces it to the Sanscrit for *trader;* but, it will be seen in the annexed Anglo-transcript of the *Bahárat-ul-Báhara,* that the nomenclature of the tribe is derived from the town where the faith sprang —so far however as the Dáwudí schism is concerned. Whence the general epithet, can only be attributed to that period when both Sunís and Shías promiscuously intermarried into each others families without regard to the peculiar tenets acknowledged by either. Yet there is ample scope here for conflicting opinions. The first Hindu Chronicle (to which we have access in translation) that mentions the Bohorás is the *Komar-pál Charítra** during the reign of Vánsráj, first of the Cháura Kings of Anhalwárá which terminated in Sawant 852 or A. D. 796. The reference is brief—"there are plenty of Bohoras, and in Birgong there are also many." But this period is immediately subsequent to the birth of Muhammadanism. TOD in a note to the remark, calls them—"the money-lenders to the artizan and husbandman throughout India, who receive written pledges for the fruits of their industry; somewhat analagous to the *Métayer* of the old French system." And the only means of reconciling one appellation with another is by assuming this class to be of the same type as Malcolm's Brámín Bohorás. Within the last half century the ignorance prevailing in India res-

* "This work, consisting of thirty thousand slocas or stanzas, the original of which is in Sanscrit, was composed by Sailug Soor Acharya, a celebrated teacher of the Jains, in the reign of the prince whose name it bears, who ruled from A. D. 1143 to 1166, and whose life it is chiefly intended to illustrate." TOD'S *Travels in Western India.*

pecting the Ráfzí Bohorás led Europeans to call them, very singularly, Musalmán Jews; and FORBES in his *Memoirs* pointedly alludes to the expression. The earliest analysis however of these people is from the pen of HUNTER in his account of Ujín*—it is to the following purport—"they distinguish their own sect by the title of *Ismaeeliah;* deriving their origin from one of the followers of the prophet named Ismaeel, who flourished in the age immediately succeeding that of Mahomed. This singular class of people forms a large society, spread over all the countries of the Deccan, particularly the large towns. Surat contains six thousand families; and the number in Oujein amounts to fifteen hundred. But the head quarters of the tribe is at Burhanpoor, where their moollah or priest resides. The society carries on a very extensive and multifarious commerce in all those countries over which its members are dispersed; and a certain proportion of all their gains is appropriated to the maintenance of the moollah, whose revenue is consequently ample. He is paramount in all ecclesiastical matters, and holds the keys of Paradise; it being an established article of faith, that no man can enter the regions of bless without a pass-port from the high priest, who receives a handsome gratuity for every one he signs. He also exercises a temporal jurisdiction over his tribe wherever dispersed; and this authority is admitted by the various governments under whose dominion they reside, as an encouragement to these people, who form the most industrious and useful class of the inhabitants. A younger brother of the Moollah resides at Oujein; and, with that same title, exercises over the borahs resident there the authority, spiritual and temporal, annexed to the office. Five Mohillas of the city are inhabited by them and subject to his jurisdiction."

* Furnished the ASIATIC SOCIETY. Ujín, a city of ancient celebrity,—like another Pompeii,—was buried in a shower of ashes, by Indra the Jupiter of the Bramìnical mythos.

The traditions of the Muhammadan Bohorás are made up of bigotry and superstition—a wild mass of credulity fostered by ignorance; and though the Shía sects—particularly the Dáwudí schism—muster several of their number ably versed in Arabic and their theology, no branch of education is encouraged to strengthen the mental resources; or, as Gibbon* justly observes in reference to the Arabians, which Forbes would also render applicable to the Muhammadan of Surat,—"the instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences." Early given to trade or some other occupation, which the sustenance of life demands—domestic cares, brought on by marriage in almost infancy—an intuitive fancy for the voluptuousness of the seraglio—a bigoted regard to the tenets set forth by their clergy; would of themselves prevent any close attention to those higher studies which now engross the education of the youth of Europe.

Arabia is justly charged with the origin of *Bohorá—Shíaism.* The division in its primitive form sprang in that peninsula, and found way very generally throughout Persia; the denomination of the sects which subsequently split from the parent schism is said to be *Beháura,* so that Malcolm's remark, though wide of the immediate point it grapples, is not very remote from the scene of its existence,—for it is added, that even in Asia Minor it has extensive scope. In reference to India; were there no historical foundation to support the statement, Conolly's bare assertion of Cambay being the spot where it was first inculcated would carry no little weight, from the circumstances—that it is the great stronghold of secession in this province, and has continued so for centuries; and from having been the port of debarkation of numerous importations at one time of mercenary guards from the Persian Gulph, who with fanatical zeal would rather further their faith than permit it languidly to expire with their existence. This circumstance is

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

corroborated by Bohorás of all tribes; though it is painful to think that the statement of no one of the sect is to be trusted far, from their anxiety to conceal the various doctrines of their persuasion, their hagiology, and their intercalary observances—domestic or otherwise. The Hindusthání saw is *Bohorá sí siána so dívána*—he who is wiser (astute) than a bohorá is a madman. SALE, in his preliminary dissertation to the translation of the Kurán, very agreeably explains the various grand distinctions which had sprang among the followers of that prophet whose doctrines have inculcated that fierce love which is more a brute passion in its anomalous distinctions than any of that purity and charity which becomes a celestial fire; a singular alliance between an earthly and a heavenly love, befitting the Cupid and Eros of a Pagan Mythology. DR. SOUTHGATE,* in his Travels in the Western Peninsula, observes that the sublimity of the Kuran can only be appreciated in the original text.

The expression *Shía* literally signifies, a follower of Alí—or one who disavows the supremacy of any of Muhammad's disciples, excepting that of Alí his son-in-law. And the Shíá Bohorás while comprised under this grand head, are also subordinate to another equally extensive division known as Ismáillía. The parent of this schism appears to have been Ismáil, the eldest son of an Imám by name Jáffir Sádak, a native of Khurasán: and by common consent among his followers, the period of the rise of this faith is attributed to A. H. 155. The Sunís again declare that Ismáil died before his father, in the year of the Hejíra 138: intended rather as an odious reflection upon the schismatics than to elucidate an historical fact. At best, the biography of Ismáil is wrapped in fable: artfully drawn virtues exhibited by his disciples, and malignantly expressed vices developed by assailants, can go little towards arriving at the desired truth. On one point, the literary combatants appear unanimous—he died childless.

* Delegate of the American Episcopal Church at Constantinople.

From this branch of Muhummadanism originates Ráfzí-bohoráism, which is again split (so far as is traceable) into the Dáwudí—who recognize David as their tutelar prophet; Sulímaní,—also known under the denomination of *Banîmu Karmí*—who acknowledge Solomon; Alía—who reverence the son-in-law of the Prophet; and Ismahílí—who own the son of the deserted Hagar. As a matter of course, Muhammad is deemed the prime lawgiver; and the other characters merely take inferior parts in the disposition of their religious code.

In the year A. H. 296 arose a division in Arabia known variously for a length of time as Abídáin or Mehdevía Ismáilía. It was founded by a bold, restless enthusiast—named Muhammad bin Abdullá, who claimed lineal descent from Muhammad bin Ismáil, and proclaimed himself as the Medhí. Flushed by success in his enterprizes, he appears to have contemplated for a season the subjection of Egypt, and ultimately to have invaded, and for some time to have reigned over, a portion of the dominion of the Ptolemies: his biography is said to be elaborately sketched in the Arabian chronicles of the kings of Egypt. The pontificate established by Abdullá continued hereditary, and to be undisturbed in its internal economy until death closed the reign of Imám Mustánsír billá, when his two sons, Ahmed (better known as Mustá Alí) and Názar, at the head of their several adherents, respectively claimed the ecclesiastical government. Each seems to have constituted himself Imám during his life-time, and to have transmitted to posterity two distinct schisms who distinctively lay claim to the legitimate succession from Abdullá. The party of Ahmed made the sect now popular under the designation of Mustá-alía; and that of Názar—the Názaría. Among those who embraced the latter cause was Abu Hanífa Kádhí Noman, the lawgiver of Mulíkía, and whose laborious and voluminous compilations still gain him the admiration of the erudite, and the reverence of the ignorant. His po-

pularity appears to have been based chiefly upon a religious conceit, which is fostered even at the present time—that, Imáms are inspired by the Almighty.

From this fourth remove from the simple ritual of the Arabian Prophet come the Dáwudí Názaría Bohorás, who pursue the doctrines set forth by Kádhí Noman, and whose Mullâhs trace their ancestry to Muhammad bín Abdullá. Colonies of this tribe are spread throughout Western, and towards the north of, India: they are chiefly to be met at Bombay, Cambay, Ahmedábád, Barodá, Baroch, Sídhapur, Bhopál, Sironj, Ujín, Indor, Rampurá, Mandísor, Kachrod, Shaháijíhánpur, Pattan, Naggar, Punâ, Hidarábád, Aurungábád—in Arabia, at Jaddah, Mekká, Basrah, and Maskát; while Surát is made the pontifical seat. According to a meagre historical legend called the *Baháral-ul-báhara*, or the Initiation of the Initiated,* it appears that in the year 460 of the Hejíra, a namesake of the father of Mehdevía Ismáilía made his appearance from Yamen in Arabia within the vicinity of Cambay, and by means of a miraculous performance to have made a proselyte of the Makádam of the hamlet. In an age and a country where bigotry has equal contention with a love for the marvellous, it is not improbable that any extraordinary feat to those who find it so, should effect a passive submission to the controlling genius: and thus, one can readily presume how a Hindu monarch was converted, and in his train came those who basked under his patronage, or who like himself were convinced of the truth of the deed. Sheík Abdullá the second had here made a happy conversion. He died at the scene of his pious labours. He is stated to have been born at a place called Bohorá under the Yeman principality; and hence the soubriquet of the followers.

In its palmy days, Surát owned a goodly throng of the Dáwudí sect;

* Vide Appendix D.

they are now considerably reduced in number. In the absence of official information which could be, but is artfully abstained from being, supplied, from the archives of the Mulláh; oral tradition has it, that the *gadí* had been removed from time to time to Jáunagar, Bhopál, and Ujín, beyond the memory of man. From an account compiled by a native for Sir John Malcolm, it would appear that Sídhapur was made the first pontifical seat. It was thence transferred in the year of the Hejírá 1056 by Pír Khán Shuzá-ul-dín to Ahmedábád. Again in 1200 A. H. to Surát, where Najam-ul-dín established himself as Mulláh. He was succeeded upon his demise in 1213 A. H. by Abdul Alí,—who assumed the title of Sefuldín or *Sword of Religion*, which has since been retained as an hereditary appellation with the office. Upon Abdul Alí's death occurring in 1232 A. H., Muhammad Ezdín became Mulláh; the latter dying in 1236 A. H. his functions devolved upon Thiab Alí Yuseb Zín-ul-dín, who died about seven years ago. The son and nephew of the two last—Nezmudín, by name—is the present Agoumenos or superior of the community; to whom I paid a visit, of which mention has already been made in the early part of my journal.

The Mulláh is treated with reverence, approaching to adoration, by his followers. He is expected to provide for the poor of his flock; to protect and further the interests of his cause; and, is regarded as the great and final umpire in all disputes. He is obliged to make provisions for the families of the previous Mullâhs; to see the younger members respectably married; and to have them buried with the honors due their position in life. He generally assumes office the third or tenth day after his predecessor's demise. He is waited upon by his household, with that slavish adulation insisted upon by Oriental princes. His *náibs* or deputies, are scattered wherever a few families of the band are to be found: they are known to be blindly obedient to his control, and exercise in his behalf the arbitrary com-

mands promulgated. The hereditary wealth of the Mullâh is said to be enormous. His revenue is acquired by extensive endowments made by the laity upon festive occasions; by vows torn from the breasts of the timid and superstitious—in perils upon the ocean, in seasons of adversity, or in anticipation of idealized fortune. In all cases of gifts the Mullâh returns one fourth of its value to the donor. He reads and preaches for ten days during the Muharram. He attends the masjíd punctually with the dawn of day. The *muezzín* (call to prayer) is recited at three in the morning. To strangers of their own clan coming from abroad among them, the Dâwudí Bohorás are hospitable beyond belief; to the various Ráfzí bands at variance with their particular tenets, they wage the most deadly feuds.

The next important Muhammadan dissenters of this mould, are the *Sulímání Bohorás;* of whom about a hundred families live at Surát, and a fair proportion appears scattered about Bombay, Hidarábád in the Dekkan, and Barodá; at the latter quarter the chief náib in India takes up his residence. The Mullâh himself remains in Arabia. This sect has only of late increased in number: their stay in Surát does not appear to exceed a century. The *Alía* and *Ismáhílí* sections are both poor in number and obscure in point of position.

But, all these Hindu-Musli are unanimous upon certain general points in the trivial bearings of which they may vaguely differ. Infants undergo *akíká** on the seventh or twenty-first day after birth. The bridal portion is set at forty rupees; which in case of divorce is paid to the woman, particularly if such dowry should not have been made at the time of marriage in the presence of the officiating priest. In the event of a husband binding

* "Uqeeqa properly implies, both the ceremonies of the sacrifice and the shaving of the child's head but to this latter operation, the people of this country have given the name of *Meondun*—the former is a rite directed to be observed in the *Huddees*." HERKLOT, *on the Customs of the Mussulmans of India*; Sec. 2nd, *Uqeeqa* or Sacrifice.

this sum in his wife's *sárí* overnight, she quits his dwelling the following morning as if a formal deed of divorce had been executed. Slavery—startling as it may sound—in its gentlest and happiest form is exercised; a female domestic who cohabits with her master, by the mere expression of '*I am your slave*' irrevocably binds herself, so it is said, in that condition to his household. A liberal interpretation is set upon the Arabian prophet's allowance of married women to each seraglio: the plan is a simple one; an addition of equal quantities to the seriatim numbers 1, 2, 3, 4,—making a fair proportion of twenty ladies to one lord! Whether the expence or trouble has proved the more effectual bar, it is certain that this view has never been practically borne out. But for an elegant profile, for pure classic features of a Grecian mould, the Bohorá women are noted. One exception was singularly afforded me; it was of a young widow at the grave of her lately deceased husband. The calmness of despair—of desperation, was forcibly pictured: some thought more endearing than the rest suffused her eyes with tears for a moment, and then they struggled and stole over a complexion of the rich brunette of southern Europe. She soon after raised her orbs—large, black, and lustrous—to the paradise of her hope; and presented a countenance bearing the most painful resemblance to Guido's painting of the erring Mary: equally exquisite, equally heartrending. Had the scene and circumstances been less affecting and less sacred, my observation may have advanced into scrutiny: as it was, I tore myself from one of the harrowing records of the battle of life.

The neatness and cleanliness of Bohorás, are proverbial; both in their persons and their dwellings. Their abodes are adorned with metal platter, bright to the reflection; with china-ware and glass of the prettiest patterns. The use of fermented liquors and arduous spirits forbidden by Muhammad, is a law recognized with no little severity; and sundry pains

and penalties are rigidly enforced in the event of vocal mirth being attempted, the sale or use of any resemblance of human or other living creature, and if noticed in strange or questionable places without satisfactory reason being assigned. They are enterprizing and cunning; but their schemes are founded rather in the scale of prudence, than the hazard of wilful adventure. They bear about their persons, phylacteries—with quotations from the Kurán; as a charm against the demons of darkness, Queen Mab and her crew, the covetous eye and the envious breast. The Rev. Dr. Wilson who attended a Bohorá condemned to death at Baroch, mentions the spirit of fatalism and fanaticism which obscured the last moments of the murderer. It is no vague legend, but a truthful matter, which CONOLLY tells of the Bohorá seeking of his Mullâh a passport to Heaven while upon the dying pallet; and a gratuity is given to be permitted to enjoy in his future Paradise—the fruit, the flowers, the dwellings, and the women, he loved best on earth. This document or ticket, which bears upon its face the pontifical insignia of office, is buried with the deceased: both, delusion and deluded, being placed under one envelope in the sod.* Altogether, the history of the Bohorâs merits some more favorable notice than it has hitherto met: but, it will be a violent struggle to pare truth from error—obscure fable from actual customs; and, whatever their traditions of that nature immediately affecting them as a distinct people wedded to peculiar principles of action among themselves—any litigious proceedings in which

* Another barbaric rite, but which merely befalls the lifeless corpse of the pontiff, is the introduction of an iron pipe into the frame by the great orifices of the head and body of the Mullâh, and through which spring water is passed seven times in prescribed quantities: the last draught is carefully bottled and preserved. The lips of the worthy—those whose wealth rather than sanctity demand it—are bedewed with the Hellenic unguent as the dying layman receives the last corporeal taint of promised celestial beatitude with his former spiritual guide on earth.

large property is concerned, will only bare many of those singularities which are now artfully veiled by popular pretensions.

Fully forty years ago, Mrs MARIA GRAHAM, a lady of considerable talent, with more sarcasm than playfulness evinced in her papers, writes—'A singular race of heretical Shiahs exists in the Nizam's territories; its members believe in the metempsychosis, abstain from flesh, hold it lawful to worship the image of Alí, in whom they believe God was actually manifest; and they consider the Koran as it now exists to be a forgery of Abubeker Omar, and Othman. Such is the progress the Shiah sect has made that it has nearly superceded the Sunnis, who were the orthodox Mussulmans during the reigns of the family of Baber-shah; but, at present, as there is no persecution on either side, they are likely to settle into good neighbours and friends, and, probably in a short time the Sunnis may be nearly forgotten, for the stranger Mussulmans who come from Persia to settle in Hindostan are continually increasing the number of the Shiahs, while that of the Sunnis in its branches of Hanafi and Shafei is, I have been informed, in the decline.' The advance of time confirms the promised assurance then formed; but we still need to learn much of—the *Máula-íslám*, commonly called moleh-salám, the peculiar faith of the Bábí of Bálsínor and his Muslim adherents—the *Kojahás*, who incongruously entwine Hínduism and Muslímism, (fast during the Rámadhán, maintain the festival of Id, and also join in the celebration of the Hulí and Díválí)—the *Memans*, a corruption of Moman, who have neither a written code nor any established custom, beyond what time and occasion demand—the *Núgorí*, whose women are readily known by their long jacket of one piece in party-colors: *et hoc genus omne*. But *l'envoi* to this topic: he who first unravels the mysteries which now cloud our knowledge in respect to these anomalous communities will undoubtedly earn the most sensible reward of a generous people—its gratitude.

CHAPTER VII.

LEAVE Surát—The Taptí river—Gulf of Cambay—Arrival at Cambay—The English Factory—The Jumá Masjíd—Jáina shrine in Pársí-wárá—Cambay: its ancient importance and changes of government; its situation and political endurances.

CAMBAY, 10*th December*.—For several days previous to my leaving Surát I had been pushing enquiry to discover the speediest and most economical mode of getting here—considering the season of the year. Every description of water and land carriage had been variously proposed; and the Mullá of the Dáwudí Bohorás was so obliging as to place at my disposal his *bandar-boat* or pleasure barge, an offer which I subsequently declined. After repeated and ineffectual endeavours to obtain a *batelá*, and realize other suggestions—I resolved upon availing myself of a large wherry, with a fine lateen sail, belonging to a smart Muhammadan, who was to be accompanied in the proposed voyage by a crew of four others of his tribe. The cabin was to be made up aft, by an iron skeleton frame; over which a split bamboo mat would be cast with a stout canvas cover as an over-all. The passage money was settled at twenty rupees, and the probable time of the trip was estimated at four days. I had closed my bargain; revisited the scenes I had gone over; packed up my luggage and prepared myself for embarking—when, my Surát domestics refused to join me unless their wages were almost doubled: though upon their engagement I had distinctly led them to understand they would have to proceed with me into the interior—a special condition for taking them into my service. In this dilemma I knew not whither to turn. There was no written provision, and a native who had proved of considerable assistance to me heretofore, found his hands fettered

in this instance: I had no other alternative now but to retain these servants or to engage others upon the increased scale of wages. An acquaintance I had formed came to my aid; with his knowledge of the native character and the finesse to be employed with men who could thus unscrupulously practice upon the importunity of the moment—he advised my concluding with the terms demanded, and immediately upon arrival here to offer their original wages or dismissal, since servants were procurable at Cambay upon moderate rates, and there was not the room for employment if they were to leave me. Adopting this counsel, I found myself on board of my boat by 4 o'clock of the afternoon of the 7th, moving down the river with the first turn of the flood-tide. By 9 o'clock we had got over the bar of the Tapti, and with an easterly breeze which sprang towards midnight, we soon skimmed gaily the waters of the Cambayan gulf.

The river Tapti was last surveyed nearly twenty years ago by Lieutenant Peters of the Indian Navy; and Captain Cruttenden of the same service is said to have furnished the *Geographical Society* with a very valuable report upon the gulf—of more recent origin. In the case of the Tapti—compared with the accounts of the early travellers—the depth is not so great; and within the observation of the present generation, sand-banks have been found shifting and new ones to be forming in its bed: important changes effected by steam-boats plying on the river, will doubtless lead to a fresh survey. I remember the disagreeable list given the '*Surat*' steamer, upon my voyage, by a bank of which the master of the packet was ignorant—fortunately the flood had not completely made at the time. The scientific analysis of Dr. Alexander Gibson, of the Bombay army, expressed some twelve years ago, communicates very neatly and succinctly every desired information respecting the Tapti—" Its bed is sometimes sandy, and sometimes very rocky, with an occasional admixture of black alluvion as far down

as Karrod, which is distant from its mouth, thirty-two miles. In its lower course till it reach the sea, its bed consists of mud and sand. At its mouth a formation of stone of a tertiary kind appears to be going on, and is highly worthy the observation of the geologist. The breadth of the Taptí at Surát is about 1200 feet; below the town it widens, and has many mud banks and backwaters, the latter filled only by high spring tides, or in the freshes of the rainy monsoon."* It is also said that the mouth of the Taptí abounds in a black sand, very rich in iron; and chemical experiments have shewn that platina exists in it. Both Dr. Gibson and Dr. C. F. Collier appear to have bestowed not a little attention upon this point.

Tieffenthaler observed, more than a century back, the receding nature of the waters of the Gulf of Cambay on the north-eastern shore, about the confluence of the Sábarmátí and Mihí, and ascribed it to the circumstance of the waves having diminished in volume: it has since been discovered that the waters of the Gulf have taken a western tendency and to make rapid encroachments upon the Katíwár peninsula. It is generally believed that the island of Perím will be overwhelmed, if this should continue in force as it does in distance: most of the fossils once procurable here have been removed from time to time by various parties; the more valuable collections are said to have passed into the possession of Mr. A. B. Orlebar, lately a Professor in the Elphinstone College of Bombay, Baron C. Hugel, and Mr. Albermarle Bettington of the Bombay Civil Service—the latter gentleman is known to have presented his property to one of the London museums. There are various traditions extant respecting this gulf—one, particularly, tells of the Katíwár territory having, centuries ago, bordered upon the Surát line of coast, with merely the Sábarmáti flowing between, and the separation not wider than at Wáuta: that the

* Vide *Transactions of the* Bombay Medical Society.

Narbaddá as well as the Taptí fell into this thirsty stream, which drinks the waters of so many rivers in its lengthy course; that successive earthquakes, to which Gujarát is susceptible, allowed the waters of the Indian Ocean to burst upon the land—and then, as conclusive evidence for the truth of this legend—the fossil remains of Perím are quoted. Captain Fulljames, in an able memorandum supplied the *Bengal Asiatic Society*, shews the different strata in a bore executed at Gogha about 1836; and the statement judiciously expressed a section of the various layers. Geologists have conflicting opinions on this point, and the best informed is apt to trip upon so comprehensive a theme. Among many speculations in respect to the Gulf of Cambay, I have heard it urged that the waters of the Indus will at some time break hither by the Rann of Kach, similarly to the irruption of the Black Sea into the Thracian Bosphorus, and thus render Kathiwár insulated. Within the compass of this narrow and now shallow gulf, disembogue the waters of the Sábarmátí, Mihí, Narbaddá, Taptí, and the small yet useful estuary in the western horn leading to the *kárí* or creek of Dolerá, which owns the import of a river, lends a fifth familiar name. From the Narbaddá and Dolerá countries in particular, and around the southern localities of all these streams, the most valuable cotton in the Bombay market is grown; and the crude material might be more extensively cultivated but for the hereditary apathy of a race satisfied with its daily meal, and heedless to the consequences or provision of a future time. On the eastern arm of the Gulf and between the Narbaddá and the Mihí is Tankería—the *bandar* opening almost centrally to Jambusír and the capital of the Gáikawád's dominions, and which introduces the commercial speculator immediately into the great Cotton district of the Western presidency of British India. The arrangements of the Quarter Master General's department effect the debarkation of troops for Barodá at Tankería: Cambay was formerly the port for regi-

ments for Ahmedábád and Dísá; but Dolerá has since been preferred: and Gogha for Rájkot; should a corps in Sínd be transferred to the Katíwár peninsula, Porbandar is made the landing place.

To my voyage: by 11 A. M. of the following night we were obliged to cast anchor in consequence of the dead low water. Though far away from the main land we were close to banks of every variety, now gently shelving then abruptly steep—so much so, as to render our position aught but pleasant. My *Tandel* was communicatively disposed, and I heard from him of a fatal accident which had befallen a poor European family some years ago at no distance from where we lay. Owing to the crew of their batelá not having adopted proper precautionary measures, as the tide was running out, she came rapidly upon one of these sharp banks and heeled over. The unfortunate father (and crew) contrived to escape, but the wife and children were lost. The cries of the wretched woman were clearly heard, though every means of extrication were beyond hope—shrieks subsided into moans, and these gradually died away, and the mother and little ones were soon irrevocably lost!

About the same hour yester-noon we were obliged to anchor again. Moving with the coming tide, by 4 P. M. we were off Cambay; we lay for a brief interval along a high and precipitous bank, two volumes of water as they rushed boldly, furiously—removed us; and the crew were obliged to be expert in drawing up the anchor. By 8 o'clock we had been borne as far on the beach as the flood could carry us, when I dispatched one of the crew to procure me a *pálkí* to enable my effecting a stay at the travellers' quarters for the night. The sand-flies which now gathered around the boat were a source of torment; and more to fortuitous circumstances than the fellow's exertions, a conveyance was quickly secured, but it could not be brought within a mile of where my boat had run aground—I was

in consequence obliged to seat myself saddle-wise upon a plank, alternately borne by two men. Large pools of water had collected in some parts, and at others the mud was knee deep; my position was peculiarly unpleasant, but at last I found myself in the pálki on a fair way towards my intended abode. I arose early this morning after very agreeable rest, but worn out in frame and unfit for the exertions I had promised myself. The voyage from Surát to Cambay was made within eight and forty hours; the embarkation from the first to the landing hither—in fifty three hours.

11*th December*.—The quarters that I occupy form part of a spacious building which was originally the English Factory, and in 1835 was sold to the family of Karsedjí Pestanjí Mudí of Bombay for forty thousand rupees, and is now rented by Government (as a part of the condition of purchase) for eighteen hundred rupees per annum. There is nothing remarkable in the structure in point of appearance; but it is substantial and the apartments are roomy. The upper story is occupied by strangers; the ground floor again is taken up by the office of the Mámlatdár, who performs his duties under the instructions of the Collector of Kerá, or *Kaira* as it is popularly romanized. A high brick wall curtains the edifice, its out-houses, and grounds—the enclosure is the only portion of British ground (if it can be so denominated) within the city. The British ensign may now be seen waving from a staff planted before the Factory. The bye-entry is fancifully devised; and in portions of the stone stair-way there are vestiges of heraldic-bearings having been carved. The site is elevated: from the terraced-roof of the factory an agreeable prospect of the country and the waters of the gulf is commanded.

Mr. Innes was the senior Factor, or agent, here during the early part of last century, and Mr. (afterwards better known as the envoy to the Peshwá, Sir Charles) Malet towards its close. The presence of this official

of the E. I. Company was with the double policy of purchasing carpets,* the best collection of manipulated stones, which were then deemed valuable in Europe, along with other commodities; and to prevent the Nawáb making a foreign European connexion. In 1725, the Factory had to submit to a contribution of five thousand rupees to Kantáji Kadam Bande, who—with Píláji Gáikawádí—was ravaging the country towards exacting the tribute to which each laid claim. Cambay was ransomed at twenty thousand rupees by the victor, exclusive of the fine paid by the English—'the agents pleaded exemption, in consequence of privilege of trade from the Shao Raja, but at which *the armed villains*,—as Mr. Innes, the chief of the factory, in bitterness of heart, terms them,—*only laughed*.'† By a singular change of fortune, just half a century afterwards, the defeated Peshwá flies to Cambay for its protection—the Nawab declines this succour, but Mr. Malet assists Ragoba in his flight. The contest between the Gáikáwád and Rágobá—with whom we now took part, under conventional engagement—wore a more severe character from the Peshwá's alliance, and towards this purpose Colonel Thomas Keating landed here from Surát on the 17th March 1775 with a force of 1500 men, European and native, to whom the Nawáb permitted free conduct through his dominions. The only European resident at present in the place is a Government Apothecary in medical charge.

In the forenoon I proceeded to the *Jumá Masjíd* situated at about a quarter of a mile. The exterior exhibits palpable evidence of rapid annihilation; and the decaying colonnades, the injured arches—indeed every indication of age and ruin are quite as unmistakeable with the in-

* In the King's proclamation of 1630 'for restraining the excess of the private or clandestine trade carried on to and from the East Indies, by the officers and sailors in the Company's own ships'—among other articles permitted to be imported by the East India Association, *rich carpets of Cambaya* are mentioned. RYMER'S FŒDERA, Vol. XIX. p. 335.

† GRANT DUFF'S *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I.

terior. Yet it were impossible not to be lost in rapture with the elegant frieze, the elaborate ceiling; the anxiety for costly accuracy in great proportions and minute detail in the trellised windows and the fretted domes: —but every thought soon slides into sorrow for the lamentable destruction which is so indolently permitted. FORBES believes this mosk to have been raised upon the site of a Hindu (as he denominates it) temple, and the idols to be buried beneath the pavement—which was once composed of marble slabs, but rifled at one of those revolutionary stages in the history of Gujarát during the last century when Maharáta ánd Muslím at various seasons and with various success obtained possession of the City. Colonel TOD has it built upon the ruins of a Jáina fane 'dedicated to *S'thámba Parswanath* and erected by Síd Ráj in the eleventh century.' The legend furnished me, tells of a Mogli millionaire, Máleh Tujár by name, who in a season of bitter famine offered a handful of pearls for an equal quantity of wheat, and vowed were he successful in this purpose he would provide another similar measure of these Ocean-Gems towards the building of a place of worship.* He obtained the grain which his need demanded, and in grateful recollection of the mercy of Heaven and his own pious vow, he shortly after raised this masjíd. He lies interred under a mean *gambaj* in the centre of the court-yard. At the northern extremity of the tomb is an Arabic inscription in the Tográ character, comprising a few distiches from the Kurán: wrought in relievi—and remarkable for the large, bold, and clear letters; quite of uncial design. Over the centre *meráb* is a marble slab with Persian figures, indicating the name of the founder and the date of the masjíd having been completed. Upon the broken shaft of a column, which was perhaps intentionally rolled within the area, is rudely sculptured

* I have heard a similar tradition respecting a *rozá* in one of the adjoining hamlets; FORBES declares to a perusal of the slab communicating the information. I merely state what was told me, and do not (to make a confession) place much credence in these pretty legends.

a diabolical scene, denominated by the parties present with me as the *Curse of God;* accident rather than anything else afforded me a knowledge of it. Tod, in treating upon the shrine of Achíl-esvár, remarks—'On quitting the temple, the eye rests on a number of rude pillars at the gate, bearing the *tílác,* or maledictory inscription, each having the figure of the ass (*gadda*) carved thereon.' (*Travels in Western India.*) I have not a doubt that this is a corresponding pillar and of Jáina origin; but with the Muslím aversion to similitudes of human or other living creatures, it is strange that the column under notice has been allowed to remain so long within the precincts of the mosk. I had an impression taken, which, though feeble, accurately conveys the unnatural conception. Is this, however, proof presumptive of the ancient Jáina fane? Again, a few of the square tiles of the area had the Sanscrít *rám* or *shám* deeply chiselled. What of this? But, the tourist will quit this masjíd with mingled feelings of admiration and regret—admiration for skill, regret for decay,—and if, as in my case, the first specimen of mixed Jáina and Muslím architecture that he has witnessed, he will long and vividly remember the taste and the finish and the grandeur that he has just beheld, and his crayon will not involuntarily attempt the light tracery and the airy fretwork which can so successfully be employed in Oriental structures:—while the species of Arabesque or Muresque (as it has been variously termed) to which he has been hitherto familiar from the splendid designs of Cordova and the Alhambra by Murphy, will here be practically illustrated; and the association thus wander over the career of the Saracen in the Peninsulas of Europe and India, which could form such burning tracks at these extremes, and leave such brilliant remembrances.

I was subsequently conducted without the city towards *Díl Kushá* (the Heart's Delight)—a country seat of the Nawáb of Cambay. I was

prompted to visit it from FORBES' account; but it certainly did not realize the expectations to be formed from his rhapsody. Nor is it a Mogli construction: having been both planned and executed by Colonel CHARLES REYNOLDS, the Surveyor-General of Western India, and subsequently purchased of him by the local chieftain. This is but one of many instances in which I had been misled by Forbes' very agreeably-reading volumes: they absorb a large amount of information—where he depends upon his own observations, he is to be trusted; the moment he advances with the speculations of others, he is lost in ambiguity, the truth of which can only be tested by a journey hither.

Making the most of my day, I had ordered torches to be prepared for me in Pársí-wárá, within the city, to permit of my entering the subterranean shrine of *Párisvanátha*, mistaken by Forbes for one of the Bramínical mythos. The vicinity in which the fane is situated is certainly filthy, and in outward appearance the building does not differ from its neighbouring habitations. The interior of this Jáina chapel was narrow in dimensions; towards the east stood the altar—it held one large and magnificent image of the favorite Tírthákar of the Saráwaks, upon the whole well executed but wanting in expression; it was supported on either side by two smaller and similar figures, while a host of miniature resemblances of various stone and marble, occupied the length of the apartment. The eyes of most of the images were composed of crystal (*phattak,*) and several were decorated with ruby and emerald ear-rings. The pigmy *jínesvár* occupy their present roof temporarily, and are given for a pecuniary consideration to any devout layman who may need such in his household. By an obscure side-door leading to a narrow flight of stone-steps into a sort of cellar, I was then conducted to the altar underground—painfully recalling at the time, the similar mode of worship adopted by the primitive Christians under

the Pagan Emperors of Rome; and pursued in this instance to ward the iconoclastic vengeance of the Muslim victors of the country, who razed any and every pretensions to idolatry under the religious crusade which formed the basis of their aggressive conquests. In a sconce at the first turn of the stair-way was a small Chandrâvatí-marble figure of Ganesía—the Minerva of the Hindu Panthea—and some four or five additional steps introduced us into the human-wrought cavern. Cruses of *ghí* are constantly used by the Jáinas during their sacred offices; the great glare emitted by my *flambeaux* shewed all that could be seen. The figures were counterparts of those I had already observed above, and occupied the same compartment, but there was nothing peculiar or extraordinary to merit notice; and I must admit, that I quitted the building with no little disgust upon my anticipations being so considerably worsted. I bestowed my donation in the charity-box presented to me at the door-way; glad to escape the dank atmosphere which prevailed in the fane.

13*th December*.—The origin or occasion of the name of this City has elicited no little research and speculation among Indian historiographers. Baldeus denominates it the *Benjan's Paradise*, and has it to be the old *Indian Cayrus:* in the seventeenth century it was romanized *Kambatha* by this traveller, and true to the vernacular orthography. The unfortunate Wilford enters into a lengthy and questionable disquisition upon the subject in his 'Sacred Isle of the West.' Tod, more inquisitive and sapient, furnishes his digest in a few lines: it 'was anciently called Pápavatí, or the *Sinful City* with reference to its position, close to the entrance of the Mihí river into the gulf, the Pápasíní deriving its name from its dangerous character;—this was exchanged in after times for a more euphonious but a like ephemeral appellation, *viz.* Ameravatí, or the *Immortal City;*—hence it was converted to Bágavatí, or the *Abode of Tigers;*

and Trímbavati, the *City of Copper*, from a notion that its walls were of this material:—the last transition was to Cambayet or Khumbavati, the *City of the Pillar.*' (*Travels in Western India.*) FORBES tacitly acquiesces in the enunciation of Wilford, but we happen to know that the latter was the dupe of Bramínical artifice, and that this discovery nearly cost him his life.* It has been urged to me, by grave authority, that much of Tod's erudition in this instance is purely chimerical: the spirit of antiquarian errantry with which his patience and genius were endowed, led him to amuse his leisure by celebrating the phonetical cadences of a word, an expression, a thought, until he really believed its archæology from the complexion he had himself lent such. An intelligent Brámín—whose opinion was subsequently substantiated by a learned Jáina—explained away an amount of ambiguous dogmata I had held upon the subject, by attributing the designation to an abbreviation of *thambát-vatí*, or the copper Pillar, which originally stood, according to indigenous lore, a small distance without the city. The Portuguese were the authors of many of these doggrel epithets still current among Europeans in India, and gratuitously adopted by the English. The natives of Cambay still call it Kambátha; and *Nágorí* (or *Nagrá*, as sometimes called)—which is incongruously entwined with it, and formed part of the ancient Hindu city,—is a hamlet in the suburbs. Tod believes the old capital to have bordered on the mouth of the Mihí; *Nágorí* is distinctly urged by learned residents to be the identical site of that former metropolis—the distance, however, in a direct line is more than five miles, and the situation due north-west.

WILFORD assumes that Cambay was in remote times the seat of the Bálarás, and perhaps of the Hindu emperors of the west: be this as it may, there is ample testimony to shew that it was a kingdom as old as the earliest

* Vide CALCUTTA REVIEW, Vol. IV. No. 7—Art. *Bhudism.*

historical record; and Muhammadan conquest owns the devastation effected here in Máhmud of Ghízní's depredatory excursion into Gujarát in the year 1024. The city was taken again and sacked by a Musalmán in A. D. 1297 during the reign of the infamous Allá-ud-dín of Ajmír; it next became part of the dominions of Ahmedábád; it was then visited by, and capitulated to, the celebrated Akbár in 1572; it subsequently formed a parganá known as the *chorási* (eighty sections,) under the lord-lieutenancy of Ahmedábád; and lastly, made the dowry of Mírza Muhammad Jáfir—entitled Momín Khán,—to a favorite daughter upon the celebration of her nuptials with an exiled Persian prince who had sought refuge with him.

But, though the precise period of the foundation of the present city cannot be ascertained, it is deemed to be not older than five centuries in date: by the peculiar escoria shewn by its walls, TOD would have doubtless given a narrower margin. Few cities, however, have owned such a host of European travellers from every country, as Cambay—and in the earliest stage of Indian intercourse: fortunately, each of these has in some form transmitted partial detail of his acquaintance with this quarter. One can successively name Pietro delle Valle, Cæsar Fredericke, Francis d'Almeyda, Osorio's quotations are numerous; along with some of those whom I have already mentioned as the visitors of Surát. The intrepid Elizabeth of England is also to be found forwarding a mission to Cambay in 1543; which was subsequently to proceed towards China.

Not long after, RALPH FITCH, a merchant, accompanied by three of his countrymen, left London for the East Indies in 1583. They went by ship as far as Tripoli in Syria, and thence joined a caravan for Persia. They quitted Basrah for Hindusthán 'in a certain ship made of boards and sewed together with cayro, which is thread made of the husk of cocoas, and certain canes or straw leaves sewed upon the seams of the boards, which is the

cause that they leak very much.' They arrived off Cambay in the month of November, and Fitch observes—'Cambaietta is the chief city of that province, which is great and very populous, and fairly built for a town of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will sell their children for very little. The last king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, who was killed at the siege of Diu, and shortly after his city was taken by the Great Mogor, who is king of Agra and of Delli, which are forty days journey from the country of Cambaia. Here the women wear upon their arms infinite numbers of rings made of elephants' teeth, wherein they take so much delight that they would rather be without their meat (!) than without their bracelets. * * In Cambay they will kill nothing nor have anything killed: in the town, they have hospitals to keep lame dogs and cats, and for birds.' Such is the laconic notice given this place by one of our earliest commercial adventurers in the East.

In its early Hindu and Muslim history, Cambay appears to have realized everything which appertains to a wealthy city; and its temples, seráis, and tankás, to rival the pretensions of as fair territories south of the Himaláiahs. Its dilapidation next forms the theme of travellers, and Forbes dwells in humiliating bitterness upon the poverty and ruin which he witnessed. With the exception of the Darbár,—a miserably patched building—its archway bedaubed with yellow wash and grotesque figures; the precincts of the English factory; and the broad street of the Bazár,—not a square foot of clear earth can be stepped upon without a prospect of being tripped by the huge stones scattered or cast, or carelessly allowed to lay, in every direction. Decaying tenements and penurious inhabitants, comprise all that might now be urged for Cambay, and trade has long languished into the almost lethargic form of death: yet to those few Muslim who have narrow means, and possess the pretension to live well, flock hither,—from the

cheapness of food and dwelling, and to whom Cambay affords the only opportunity of strutting out their little life with that gratification which the vain alone can appreciate.

Cambaya, Kambatha, Cambat, Cambaia, or Cambay, as it has been romanized at different periods and with various fancy, is in Lat. 22° 23′ N., Long. 72° 45′ E., and seated at the head of the Gulf of that name, between the tributary waters of the Mihí and the Sáharmátí (vulgace, *Sabermaty*) whose confluence occurs a little below. It is bounded to the north by the parganá of Máthu, to the east by a number of mixed villages of the British (where exist several salt-pans) and the Gáikawád, while its eastern and southern limits are defined by natural and liquid boundaries. The city comprises an irregular circuit of not quite three miles, protected by a poor brick wall, said to have been last repaired by Kalánrái, a Lár Vánia, and the Governor appointed by Akbar shortly after its possession by the imperial dynasty of Ajmír,—with bastions at long and vague intervals, and with portions evincing that at one time it may have been perforated throughout for musketry. A few specimens of honeycombed ordnance were pointed out to me,—perhaps the identical artillery noticed by Forbes: the masonry gives promise of an early annihilation, and one of no little benefit to the citizens, with the advantage of a pure breeze playing through an atmosphere now tainted by obnoxious vapours; though it is said the Nawáb proposes effecting every necessary repair (commencing with the eastern face of the city) at his own private cost, and it is said almost immediately. There are ten gates, with lodges adequately occupied by guards; thus, making an easterly circuit—the Phurzá or *Customs'* Gate, guarded by 25 Moguls; Mekká gate, 20 Moguls; Bhoí ka bárí gate, 30 Arabs; Madla ka bárí gate, 25 Moguls; Gowara gate, 50 Arabs; Bohorá bárí gate, 15 Moguls;

Lal gate, 100 Arabs; Fatte gate, 50 Arabs; Muhammadí gate, 15 Moguls; and the Chak gate, 20 Moguls.

In the palmy days of Cambay, when nursed by the grandeur of Anhulwárá, and subsequently Ahmedábád and the great seaport of Gujarát, large towns existed within its environs, and the tourist may tread upon the foundations of extensive buildings—apart from serái and tanká, and mausolea and hamám, and the extravaganza of a wealthy and liberal population, allowing gold to find architectural skill for the growing taste which had sprung with accumulated resources. The antiquarian, too, will find ample room to pursue his study: for here abound incriptions in the Sanscrit and Pálí-Bhudist characters, which would demand a life-time to translate the host of figures upon torn plinths, ruined peristyles, and decayed sconces; which communicate some motto or precept or parable or historical reference. The account furnished by a recent compilation reads more in the spirit of fable than the reality which once existed, when it is said—"Cambay was celebrated for fabrics of silk, chintz, and gold stuffs. * * * Indigo was always a staple here. * * Elephants' teeth procured for the China market. * * * Cotton exported." Upon the destruction of the royal line of Saffís of Persia by an Afghán invasion, emigrants flocked here in crowds, with their families and their wealth, and added to the splendour of the government: the Italian of the East was made the language of the Darbár—and its poetry, its romances, were infused into the Hindu-Muslím nobility. Even in Forbes' time, the politeness of the Cambay aristocracy was proverbial; its courtly demeanour, and its classic elegance of expression—the admiration and envy of all thrown within its circle. Independently of these circumstances we learn—"Cambay was the grand emporium of Guzerat, and the resort of merchants from every quarter of the globe!" It was celebrated, too, under its royal Muslim administration, for the drafts of daring merce-

naries—Arabs, Abyssinians, and Síndíans—always to be obtained there;* and ever ready to serve any master who paid them:—they were at one and the same time in the respective armies of Holkar and the Gáikawád and Peshwa, the Nízam, the Mogul Emperor, and the Nawáb: they fought bravely and skilfully wherever employed, but, like the Swiss, they fought only for money. NIEBUHR states that some of these Arabs were even employed at the English factory at Surát. But, poverty dawned upon the country from the extravagance which gnawed its vitals: the revenue of his territory was unequal to the prodigality of its governor; oppression was resorted to to satisfy his cravings, and his subjects thinned in number as his finances became more intricate. The tide of Maharáta warfare rolled hither, and the citizens, fearful of being beleaguered to famine while the foe revelled in plenty, desolated the surrounding country, drained the wells, and presented a spoliation which would have daunted other than a wily Maharáta. The advancing antagonist planted his standard upon the battlements of Cambay; and it was the fate of this unfortunate city, which first involved the British in that vortex against the Peshwa's aggressions which led to the famous march of General Goddard from Kálpí on the banks of the Jamná, to the banks of the Sáharmátí—a distance of fully fifteen hundred miles,—and finally terminated "much to our glory and much to our loss."† The standing army of the Nawáb comprised at this time 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry of Síndíans and Arabians; the Maharátas soon after so stringently fettered his revenues that the Nawáb's proportion of it was insufficient for the management of the country and the support of his own dignity. Not many years afterwards the nature of the Nawáb's title to his *masnad* was disputed, because the Peshwá had happened to tax and share the produce

* GRANT DUFF'S *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. II., p. 218.

† PENNANT'S *Views of Hindostan.*

of the Government; and upon a figured display of the line of descent, the Nawáb was set down as the son of the King of Gujarát, and hence his right to the throne of the kingdom of the Copper Pillar! *

* Another illustration of the kind is furnished in this form by DUNCAN'S *Modern Traveller in India*: "Ahmedabad continued to be the residence of the Mogul Governors, till * * * the province was conquered by the Mahrattas; *the Nabob fled to Cambay, and was permitted to retain a small territory on payment of the chout or tribute.*"!

CHAPTER VIII.

THE Muslím and Maharáta Governments—The Nawáb of Cambay; his domestic and political economy—Resources of his country—Varieties of Cornelian, their quarries, and mode of manipulation for traffic—The English Graveyard—The Muharram—Jáina Shrine in Hindu-wárá—Architectural ruins.

PERHAPS in no existing empire under the sun remains so many conflicting data for mental macerbation to the statesman, in matters agrarian as well as of present monarchical dynasties, as in British Hindusthán. The various Muslím powers while they swept the gold and held the military control of a conquered province, quiescently permitted those local usages to the suzerains of the soil which regarded the collection of revenue, and the administration of justice in the suburbs, as time and necessity rendered desirable. It was the result of a conquering, an indolent, and a voluptuous, tendency of mind—with the Scythian admiration for booty, and the Gothish hatred of jurisprudence: unassociated in race with the surrounding herd by any one peculiarity of thought or action,—of diet, or creed, or physical construction; or even dissimilarity of policy, in clashing interests at work. Not so with the Maharáta. He advanced his arms quite as much to establish the fabulous belief engendered of his ancient inheritance, as to rebuild the parabolical superstructure of Brámínism: the annihilation of the Mogul power, and the utter subversion of Bhudistical faith, were equally dear to him; and the lust of wealth and dominion were ably promoted by a disposition inherently given to stratagem and to vice. Once acquiring a general political supremacy, the Maharáta was desirous to cement into one noble empire what his ministers were equally desirous to partition under

plausible palatinates; and hence arose the Courts of Indor and Barodá and Guáliar, with other minor yet similar establishments. The sovereign shared with his officers in each of the fictitious Rotores, and their more tangible finances. The Ráu and the Peshwá virtually participated in their conquered acquisitions, where the conqueror alone ruled with absolute sway and with iron hand. The Palatine reigned under the assumed authority of his master; but no sooner did his sovereign encroach, by interference or otherwise, upon his presumed rights, than the subject partook of all the honors of royalty, dismembered the kingdom he had now established, and either dared or fought his lawful monarch to his advantage. The declining strength of the empire of Sívájí at length yielded to this mode of treatment, and subsequent treaties made a mutual moiety of the surplus revenues of such thrones, while the authority had virtually passed away from the monarch to his nobles. Each of these self-constituted powers claimed an amount of territory, as chimerical and questionable as the nature of the figured statements submitted of their revenue and financial economy. A similar alliance, and almost of a similar character, ensued between, and was given the connexion of, the Peshwá and the Gáikawád. Between them they apportioned the conquered (or accredited to be so) territories in Gujarát: the Peshwá however supplied his quota of civil functionaries and military, and each endeavoured, without disturbing the cause of the other, to extort from the conquered the largest possible gains. The Peshwá opposed the British, and ultimately fell: in consideration of certain pensions agreed to by the English government, he resigned all right in his hereditary and conquered dominions—dominions which were swoln in extent and value, and some of which are known (if not believed) to this day never to have bowed to a Maharáta, much more owned suzeraincy to his government, but which the artifice and skill of the Peshwá's *wakils* or ministers dexter-

ously employed to their master's, and hence their own, advantage. Such are the materials, and such the texture, of the political fabric solemnly consigned by the Peshwá to the British—in his connexion at least with Gujarát. At this distance of time we can only measure with some degree of precision, the generosity of our concessions, and the adroit coolness of our humbled foes in such treaties.

Turn from these to a surviving yet feeble Muslím dynasty, whose existence we have already traced to a Lord-Lieutenant of the Mogul at Ahmedábád, who had usurped the government with which he was charged, and subsequently made this portion (Cambay) of the palatinate the dowry of his daughter, whose real name is lost, but a father's affection is known to have called *Bu-kánam* upon her marriage to Mírzá Muhammad Amín of Persia and of the princely line of Amír Nejmusáni. Such is the veracious origin of the present *masnad* of Cambay; but it was for long a popular impression that it was created by the Bábí family through their great ancestor the valiant Kamál-u-dín, and during those stormy times when it was more to our purpose to consolidate our political advantages than to grope through the musty records of illustrious ancestry. The father of Bukánam dying at the seat of his usurped vice-regency, his son Mírzá Nur-u-dín Muhammad boldly succeeded and maintained his sire's sovereignty; and, actuated by the same spirit, we find him very shortly after assuming the direction of affairs at Cambay upon the death of his sister's husband—perhaps too, with an affectionate interest owing to the minority of his nephew. This superintendency of Cambay appears to have continued from the onset of interference to the time of his death—over a period extending to nearly half a century; when only his nephew ascended the throne, or attempted the administration of affairs, under the name of *Najum Khán*. He was also the son-in-law of his uncle, whose daughter Jugní Kánam he had mar-

ried. Two of Najum Khán's sons successively became Nawáb, assuming the dynastic denomination of Moman Khán—synonymous with the distinctions employed by the ancient Pharoahs of Egypt and the Artaxerxes of Persia; while the youngest son resigned his pretensions (with the consent of the British Government) in favor of his child—a son, who married the daughter of his brother, the last Nawáb.

Hasín Yáur Khán, styled *Momen Khán*, the present Nawáb of Cambay, ascended the masnad a few days succeeding his uncle's demise. With his country at peace, and upon the most amicable relations with the English; with his treasury overflowing with gold—the hoardings of the last avariciously disposed chieftain; and his territories yielding a revenue far beyond the actual demands of the state—never was prince more fortunate, or more envied by the surrounding fraternity of independent chiefs. He had been married at an early age to his cousin Nejmunísá Kánam, and never did omen augur more truly than the prediction of the fatalist upon this occasion—when he pronounced future unhappiness with the sudden and unaccountable destruction of the *state-pálki* upon the morning of their nuptials. Their union was at best unfortunate; and a separation soon ensued, which has now lasted for upwards of fifteen years: during this interval the Nawáb has allied himself to no fewer than four ladies of various shades of origin.* Momen Khán's age is said to be about five and thirty; he is reputed to be largely given to the pleasures of the *Hárim*, and the wealth bequeathed him permits an unbridled license to such dissipation.

* 1, *Amín-ul-nísa*, known under the cognomen of Bhardalí—the daughter of a cowherd: offspring—a girl, who died a week after birth; in 1841. 2, *Muhammad Mized—Bukánam*—daughter of the Rájá of Ahmod: no issue. 3, *Bu-begam*—daughter of Agá Gofar, a Persian residing in the Nawáb's territories; no issue. 4, Rasul Baks, now called *Vezír-ul-nísa*—a *danseuse*, and daughter of Raju, a musician of Ahmedábád: became *enceinte* in the royal mews, where the princely amours appear to have been conducted. Upon this being known, apartments were assigned her in the royal seraglio: she presented a son to the Nawáb in November 1848—who has been called FATE ALI KHAN.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE NAWABS OF CAMBAY.

MIRZA MUHAMMAD JAFIR ALI KHAN—SUBA OF AHMEDABAD; HAD ISSUE,

Mírza Nur-u-dín Muhammad Khán; ascended his father's Masnad, and had issue by a sister, named Ján Kár—

Khánjá Mía—assassinated under his father's orders.

Daughter—*Jugní-Kánam* married to ☞ *Fate Alí Khán*, Nawáb Momen Khan, 4th Rajáb A. H. 1204, died 24th Saffar A. H. 1236 (Oct. A. D. 1823): no issue.

Daughter—BU-KANAM; married to *Mírza Muhammad Amín* of Persia, first Nawáb of Cambay—leaving issue—

Mírzá Muhammad Kulí urf Zen-ul-ábadín ascended ☞ the Cambay Masnad under the appellation of *Najum Khán* A. H. 1199: by marriage with his cousin had issue—viz.,

Bande Alí Khan, Nawáb Momen Khán, 4th Rubecul A. H. 1236—died 19th Muharram A. H. 1257: issue, by a slave girl,—

Daughter—*Najmu-nísa Kánam*, married to ☞

Yáur Alí Khan—resigned the succession to his son.

Husáin Yáur Khan, Nawáb Momen Khan; ascended the Masnad upon his uncle Bande's death.

He is a Shía in persuasion: and his position enables him to give large and active countenance to the sect. In respect to personal appearance: he is of ordinary height, dark complexion, and of a bold forbidding countenance. The authorities at Kaira are the intermediate means of his communication with the Bombay Cabinet.

The principality of the Nawáb includes the city of Cambay, and fifty-six villages in its contiguity; the more important of these hamlets are Tárápur, and Undel, each of which yields annually Rs. 16,000, Nagrá Rs. 13,000, and Warsara Rs. 18,000: the others are comparatively diminutive in size, and afford a proportionate revenue. The population—including the *purás* named in the margin, and residents in the city—would be fairly estimated if given at 35,000 male adults, occupying some 17,000 houses: whereas upwards of ten thousand habitations—though a much larger number has been mentioned—are wholly untenanted! This desertion arises from the poverty of the country, and it is also attributed in partial degree to the British Government treating Cambay as a foreign port: these quondam residents have proceeded to settle wherever employment or taste has suggested—but chiefly at Ahmedábád and Barodá. Híndus prevail in number over Muslím, the Saráwak and Mísrí castes having the advantage: there are also goodly throngs of the Dáwudí and Ismahílí Bohorás. In his own service the Nawáb employs Muhammadans—comprising Indian-born Arabians, the descendants of those warlike characters imported by his ancestors; Habshí and Abyssinian eunuchs, for the protection of the *zenáná*; and the progeny of those Moguls of Persia who sought refuge in Cambay during the last century upon an Afghán invasion of their own country. In the military that he is obliged to maintain, along with Moguls and Arabs he has a large number of Híndu-Musli, or *natives* literally

Khándia-purá.
Sakar-purá.
Mída-purá.
Abbas-purá.
Wadi-faliá.
Machí-purá.
Katab-purá.
Nán-falía.

so: they are organized and officered by Mogul and Arab chevaliers, but the supreme command is held by the Nawáb, who does not entertain a Generalissimo. He has upwards of 500 foot-soldiers, and a body-guard of horse about 200 strong. A Mogul Jamedár is paid at the rate of Rs. 50, and an Arab Rs. 30, per month; a Mogul foot-soldier receives Rs. 10, and a sípáhí is paid Rs. 4, per month: a cavalry-man from Rs. 7 to 10. The superior subordinate officers receive from Rs. 10 to 20, according to the capacity held. The Arsenal, or *topkána*—in the vicinity of the English factory and facing the Nawáb's mews—contains a large collection (I cannot denominate it otherwise) of cannon of every degree of calibre and the manufacture of the seventeenth century; they are mounted on limbers of that period: the pieces themselves dared not be used from their honey-combed condition. The artillery force numbers—two gunners, whose abilities are only put in requisition upon the occasion of festivals, or the announcement of the victories obtained by the British.

The means of revenue enjoyed by the Nawáb are various. The land revenue fluctuates annually between one lák and a half to two láks of rupees. In the treaty of Bassín of 1802, the Peshwá's share of the Cháuth of Cambay (which was surrendered to us along with his other sources of finance) is estimated at Rs. 60,000 inclusive of Nágpur; but an arrangement concluded immediately after with Fate Alí Khán—the then reigning Nawáb —consolidated it to an annual payment of 24,000 Cambay rupees. By the *Mokáut* or contribution on articles of consumption, the Nawáb derives 28,000 rupees. From Municipal taxes, including licences for the vending of Opium and Liquors, he acquires something like Rs. 10,000: and the Pancháiat of Cornelian-stone manufacturers pays Rs. 5,000 yearly. The *Sear*—excise dues—on Carts and various other articles, and inclusive of Sea-Customs, realize something like Rs. 75,000. The Nawáb's propor-

tion in the Salt-pans in his territory was formerly paid him upon accounts being closed annually by the Kaira authorities: in 1842—a year after the promulgation of the Salt Act—the plan hitherto pursued was commuted by the Bombay Government into a stipulated payment of Rs. 20,000; to the secret satisfaction of the Nawáb it is said, and to the annoyance of his subjects, who enjoyed certain immunities under the old system.

Extravagant as the present Chieftain of Cambay happened to be upon first attaining his position, he has since proved careful in the management and control of his financial economy: neither individually nor politically is he pecuniarily embarrassed—much more his country. His expences are certainly heavy, and his military and civil establishments cost him a large outlay; but he husbands his resources with a frugality which does not amount to chariness nor to the detriment of his position and the maintenance of order. He supports numerous destitute Mogul families; who have rations besides of meals, twice a day, cooked or dry, as may be desired: in so cheap a country, still the charge alone for wood-fuel used in his cuisine is said to be nearly Rs. 3000 per annum. Whether it is to the ability of his arrangements, or the peaceful disposition of his subjects, or the vigilance of a small police, yet Cambay is rarely disturbed by felonies or misdemeanors,—much more murders, which prevail in the Company's district. The Nawáb is permitted the unrestricted civil and judicial control of his domains; except in cases of murder, when the Kaira authorities must be consulted before condign punishment is carried into effect. Altogether, the native government of Cambay is a steady, peaceable one; affording little room for dispute or interference on the part of his English ally.

But the decay of that importance Cambay once possessed, and till lately owned, is attributed significantly by the natives to the port being held as a foreign one, and hence the double duty charged at all British

ports. I take this to be an expression, than to attach any weight to the circumstance noticed: if Cambay really held any intrinsic materials for success, matters must progress differently. During the fair season, from fifty to sixty *batelás* and *paráus* enter, and the same number leave, the port monthly: they time their departure from other ports when leaving for Cambay so as to arrive in the Gulf between the 12th to the 4th or 5th of the moon; the strong currents and shifting sands immediately off the city rendering it extremely difficult and dangerous as well as nice for navigation. If the craft be unable to make the bandar before the turn of the tide, she returns to Gangavá—a creek, noted as the scene of a Birágí's encampment, —where she gains good shelter. There are about thirty *batelás* owned in Cambay by its trading community: they are reported to be registered and numbered as appertaining to one of Honorable John Company's ports. They ply wholly to Cambay during the fair season, and in the rainy months they are beached at Domas, Bhímpur, Matwár, or Máhím. The Nawáb possesses three batelás of goodly size, and with excellent accommodation for European cabin-passengers; these vessels occasionally sail to Bombay to bring up such stores as are required by His Highness' various establishments.

Of the productions of Cambay at the present time: the Indigo is of a bastard species, but it is found to act as an excellent dye when employed with a peculiar mordaunt extracted from the pomegranate rind—in Baroch, as well as local, manufactures required to be thus colored; an excellent traffic is maintained in these cloths for the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. Tobacco is a recent cultivation— a little better than half a century in date: it is an offshoot of the Kándes genus, and coarse in texture: some years ago it used to yield an excellent revenue (say Rs. 10,000,) but this has declined of late to one or two thousand rupees. In this article perhaps the consequences of excise as applied to Cambay might be felt:

but to obviate them, the shipments are made at the bandars of Tankeria or Dolera. A large portion of the country is taken up by indigenous grains; wholly consumed by the inhabitants. There are occasional fields of Cotton, but scarcely worthy even this notice. Half a dozen Elephants appertaining to the Nawáb's household, would supply all the ivory procurable in the territory. The penury of a few Muslim is relieved by embroidery—the *mesru* and *kínkáb* (varieties of brocade) have fallen into the hands of the merchant princes of Ahmedábád. The *Lungís, Chadarpád, Fopalí,* are manufactured—but to no great extent: these find excellent sale on the Arabian and African coasts. Rapidly waning, like everything else in relation to this once celebrated city, is the famous trade of manipulated Cornelians, Agates, &c., of the Chalcedonic and Onyx families—accredited at one time to be wholly the produce of this territory: but on this important and hitherto neglected subject I must introduce the communication of a party whose intelligence and fidelity supplies the first careful survey of both the articles wrought, and the nature of the workmen's labor, that I have yet seen in the form presented.

"Though for years in the country, and frequently having visited the factories of the Cambay lapidaries, I must confess that your enquiries and information surprised me not less than the nature of the task I had assigned myself. I say a task, for I had fondly believed that I was perfectly *au fait* upon every point in relation to this matter; but both my ignorance and egotism told fatally otherwise the moment I betook myself to a written statement. You had the advantage of me with your brief stay at Cambay to observe, to analyze, and to put upon paper the result of your visits to these busy workshops; and my thanks are due to your consideration in placing your memoranda at my disposal, when conveying my own personal knowledge, with the consequence of enquiry among the lapidaries them-

selves. Fully intent on this purpose—I will proceed, furnishing local appellatives along with our own:—

"1. CORNELIAN—	Red	Lál Akík.
	White	Dhola „
	Yellow	Zurd „
	Rose	Gulábí „
	Veined	Bawá Gorí Akík.
	Spotted	Chasmdár.
	Red and White (mixed)	Ablakí.
	Purple	Nafarmání.
	Dark, but not quite black	Emní.
	Red ground and white streaks	Lál Doredád.

"All these are obtained from Ratanpur, situated about seventeen miles from Baroch, and upon the domains of the Rájá of Rájpípla. These stones are mostly dug up, and not 'quarried according to stratification,' as a geological traveller who passed through the country a short time ago would have one believe; but to develope those bright hues and elegant figures in the stones,—a gentle, gradual process of exposure at a heated oven is adopted; even this means is found ineffectual at times,—in such cases, the lapidary is obliged to discard the material he has partially worked upon. In bygone years, the story current was that the stones were thrown upon a plain for a couple of years to enable the sun to perform what artificial effects very quickly decide. It is remarkable that no manufactories exist in the locality of Ratanpur. A description of Chocolate Cornelian, known as *Kátía*, is found at Daolka in Kátiwár. Let me add that the article procured at Ratanpur is packed up in gunny-bags upon the spot, and thus forwarded to Baroch, from where it is shipped in boats for Cambay.

2. AGATE—Cloudy.....Jámá.
Spotted .....Kária.
„ slightly different .....Bhágorí.
Veined.....Doredád.

"The first three descriptions are respectively obtained from Kappron, Kaparwanj, and Sakalthírat. The last, and most valuable, variety is procured from the villages of Dárpípla, Nínama, and some others adjoining. The stones here are scattered about, and lapidaries have merely the picking them, selecting those most prettily streaked or suited for their purpose, and when weighing from half a pound to two lbs. each sample. For this object the men proceed thither in the month of January, and take up their abode at the temple of Tundesvár-Mahádeu, which is built on an eminence hard by the locality of the hamlets named. Upon forming the collection required, the stones are carted off for Cambay; the expence of carriage is about eighteen rupees.

"3. The Blood-stone, or *Líla Chantadár*, is found in the bed of the Májam river, near Amlíala, and about twelve miles to the north of Kaparwanj—the locality is in the jurisdiction of the Chief of Amlíala, which forms part of the Mihí Kánta Political Agency. The Moss-Stone—*Sawá Bagí*—is got from a place called Tankará, about twelve miles to the north of Rájkot and seven south of the town of Morví: it is chiefly quarried by Síndís, from whom it is purchased at the rate of eight annas per bullock-load. If the lapidary prefer employing men to work the quarry for him to a purchase of this kind, he has to pay them at the rate of a *Kodí*, or five annas, each per diem. Each bullock-load pays a tax of two annas to the Thákur of Tankará, who is a kinsman of the Morví Rájá. The cost of transit is four rupees for every three *mands* weight; a cart-load is about 32 *mands*—the general mode of conveyance, and the weight thus carried to Cambay.

Onyx (*Sulímaní-patar,*) Jasper (*Dholo-Chantadár*), and Cat's-eye (*Chasamdár,*) are all obtained in the Rájpípla country, and forwarded along with the Cornelians by boat from Baroch to Cambay. A beautiful Maroon Cornelian, called *Ganesía* by the natives, is procured from Katíwár. A soft yellow stone, containing shells and streaks of dark-brown, and apparently a marine formation, is sent from Dakíwádá in the Rann, sixteen miles from Belá in Kach; I have heard it variously denominated, but I believe the general appellation to be *Mi-maríam.* The blue-glass (*Patla*) is imported from China; and the jet (*Kálá*) from Basráh in the Persian gulf. The crystal (*Phatak*) of the country is peculiar to Kapron in Katíwár.

"The foregoing are the principal varieties of the '*Cambay-stones*' (as they are still called and) which are wrought into necklaces, seals, slabs for snuff boxes, &c. A large quantity continues to be exported to China; and Afghánís purchase to some extent—principally beads for their rosaries, or as they term them, *táhwíz.* Very lately heavy exports have been made to Víráwal-mangrol (a port in Katíwár, and nigh Díu the Portuguese settlement,) from whence shipment has been effected of them for Mekka and Jaddah: equally brisk operations, and in the same circuitous mode, are said to be effected for the Abyssinian and Persian marts. The Nawáb affords every encouragement to the trade, permitting a consolidated municipal trades-tax, and a duty of four per cent *ad valorem* upon exports.

"In the manipulation of these stones, the means adopted are of primitive simplicity; while carelessness, or a want of happier contrivances, trusts everything to chance for the developement of that *grotesquerie*—to coin an expression for streaks and blotches and veins—which renders them still valuable with many. In most of the manufactories where this work is conducted, the ground and first floor are set apart for the purpose: in the former the primary and more hirsute branch of labor is performed—the lat-

ter is set apart for the lighter and refining processes. The crude material after having undergone the required heating, passes into the hands of a workman to be formed into the designed purpose: *the chipping operation* as it is termed. A long steel chisel is held by the toes, and against the point is placed one of the sides of the stone to be wrought: while in this position, a hammer with a horn knob is employed, upon the stone, which the chisel chips in the manner required by the artificer. So soon as the stone is roughly moulded, it is made over to the polishers, who work it upon discs or circular plates formed of a composition (from what I am given to learn) of Gum-lac and pulverized emery: these materials are employed in various degrees of quality, so as to present a series of plates from the coarse-grained to a delicate fineness, upon which the stone is worked consecutively until it attains the required brilliancy of appearance. The apparatus is not unlike that used by natives whose employment it is to whet swords and other like steel weapons (*sikligars*), with this difference, that the stone is pressed by the hand on the side and not on the periphery of the disc: the disc is turned by means of a bow and string rolled round the axle to which it is attached, and is managed in the same manner as by native turners of wood in their handicraft. The process of sawing slabs of Cornelian is as peculiar as it is simple: a couple of stout billets of wood at a distance of two feet apart receive centre-wise by mortise a cross-piece of wood, and above this at the upper extremities of the billets is tied a piece of rope, doubled, and twisted with the assistance of a stick which is moved as the saw slackens. This instrument, small, plain and toothless, is placed immediately below the frame I have attempted to illustrate, and is moved by two men in performing such labour assigned them. The saw is drawn rapidly across the stone, and the cut is fed by an admixture of ground emery, fine sand and water; which is applied by means of a small bamboo from the

vessel in which the preparation is placed. The bright complexion given to stone-beads of every variety from the size of a billiard-ball to that of the smallest grain, is effected by a supply of emery and water being placed along with the beads in a leather-bag about eight and twenty inches in length and eighteen in the diameter; it is tied at its narrower ends, and rolled along—to and fro—the floor for several hours by a couple of laborers, who hold a strip of leather for the purpose. The stones in this operation are said to grind against each other, and with the assistance of the emery and water to obtain the lustre they subsequently exhibit. Beads for necklaces or rosaries are perforated by a drill tipped with a diamond.

"Let me own my thanks to an old Cambay acquaintance—Amtá Tríkam, himself a large manufacturer—in particular, for his assistance in explaining and resolving our statements and enquiries. You do not mention having seen him when you passed through, &c."

I have given the preference to the above clear and graphic communication furnished me long after I had left Cambay, to my own observations.

13*th December*.—Rose long before the dawn of day, and wandered out towards the beach; lost in a thousand thoughts which sprung at the talismanic name of Tímurlán, the *Tartar* as he is called. I had thus proceeded towards Káví hoping to have visited the subterranean fane of the gigantic idols which lie thither side by side—the creation of warring passions in the human breast, the spirit of revenge fired by ambition and wealth and pride, in the contesting feuds of a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; so runs the tradition. The chisel attributes the sculpture of the one to A. D. 1602—during the most clement of the exotic imperial dynasties of Hindusthán; its partner bears an inscription conveying the names of the two Vánías who brought it hither. Though extremely shallow at this part—between the Cambay and Káví coasts—the Mihí (the ancient *Pápasíní*, or

'river of guilt') has powerful under-eddies here, and is only to be crossed in peculiar flat-boats during the high tides: at ebb, the beds may be gone over on horse-back with the assistance of a guide, but even then it is deemed hazardous. I could not afford the loss of a day; and I trust to see the remains noticed by Almeyda upon my way from Ahmedábád and towards Baroch.

Retracing my path, my eye wandered over the luxuriant foliage-world, to be seen as far as sight would extend in its perspective grasp inland; while the murmur of the rushing tide, and the ætherial lightness of the atmosphere, tended to employ the mind in lively action. Thus engaged, I lightly trudged my way, and was soon before the sea-ward entrance of the City—when I remembered my intended visit to the English Cemetery hard by. A small plot of ground surrounded by a low brick wall surmounted by iron-railing, protects the sepulture of our countrymen. The door-way was closed, and my time brief; it was necessary that I should make the most of my stay, and, in consequence, I clambered over the rails. Among some five and twenty monuments of various height and figure—the most conspicuous (after a Mogli cupola) bears no 'carved-tale'; of about half a dozen tombs of almost the same period of erection, one alone is undeprived of an epitaph not quite three quarters of a century in date; and a grey-wacke stele upon a square plinth covers the remains of the late Captain Francis Outram of the Bombay Engineers, who met with an untimely accident at the Factory. An adjoining monument of humble pretensions is raised over the sod of Byrom Rowle of the Bombay Civil Service—one of the most distinguished names in the annals of Western India. He had been appointed to the Kaíra Collectorate, when it formed the Northern frontier of the Bombay Presidency; and, during his brief and eventful office—his correspondence displays a knowledge so luminous and profound

of the natives and of the province, conveyed too in language as elegant and philosophic as Tacitus, that they still excite the laudable ambition and win the admiration of those who attempt to pursue his steps. That he occasionally enunciated grave fallacies is not so much a fault, as the recognition of mortal infirmity ; and—considering the difficulties with which he was beset. The fever of Gujarát blighted the dawn of high renown in the first blush of manhood; and his death was bitterly bewailed wherever his virtues or his abilities were known. I read the simple inscription half-a-dozen times; perhaps thoughtlessly—but memory was occupied in a mournful remembrance of the fate of genius. I quitted the grave-yard immediately afterwards.

Re-entering 'the gate of the City' my ears were saluted with the wild cries of *Hassan* and *Hussen,* the vague bursts of the Indian trumpet, and the sharp sets of the cymbal. It was the Muharram; enacted in a Muslím city! Banners were to be seen waving; and the sombre habiliments of their fashion, robed the followers of the Arabian prophet. It was not the pageantry which mimicked the sorrow for departed worth, nor the mournfulness which springs at the anniversary of some solemn celebration—but it appeared the jubilee of the day, the relief from labor: and lads might be seen transported with merriment, while older heads protected their newly-clad raiment. Such is the spirit of Ismalitish faith. The *Imám-bárá,* where the sufferings of the Muslím martyrs are tragically shewn, is said to be lined with black-cloth hangings; and is brilliantly illuminated at night. The scene here is affecting; if its occasion were not contemptible. The utmost silence prevails as the *roze-khwán* recites the harrowing narrative of the deaths of Hassan and Hussen; and at prescribed intervals his auditory burst into fierce lamentations, smite the breast, and exclaim—*yáh Hassan! yáh Hussen!* Sherbet is distributed at these times; and the expences of the

Muharram are said to cost the Nawáb Rs. 20,000. The nocturnal equestrian processions occur on the 8th and 9th of the month: on the morning of the 10th the Náransar tank is visited—and ends the affair.

With noon came my new friends, the Cornelian men, and others—with specimens of stones wrought in what was deemed the most novel forms and by way of incentive towards making purchases; and as on former occasions, samples of Indigo, Tobacco, and other local produce were brought: one of the party had a richer treat he believed, and so it proved subsequently—it was a visit to the Jáina shrine in Hindu-wárá, now undergoing repairs upon some provision made for the purpose by the late Hatísing, the Rothschild of Ahmedábád. I had promised to visit the fane this afternoon, and availed myself of the Saráwak's proposal to accompany him. So soon as torch-bearers and other attendants could join us, we proceeded in a body to the quarter denoted, and presented ourselves at a house—larger, more airy, and with a far more cheerful appearance, than the one in the Párśi-wára. A fanciful and not inelegant canopy which springs a few feet above and in the centre of the roof—afforded the ventilation and the liberal supply of light which particularly mark this Jáina chapel; the design however was quite *á la Chinois*. The wooden pillars were curiously wrought, and the wooden ceiling exhibited an attempt at fret-work. The clay-wall in advance of the altar was spread with representations in relievi of warriors, dancing-girls, equestrian figures, elephants, birds of variety, and a pálki; most of them were colored, and though not in the best order—it was said to be the intention of the sect to carry out their improvements thoroughly. The most striking object to me in this heterogenous mass was Sol in a garb more European than known to the Indian painter; but I could elicit nothing of any value from either the ignorance or bigotry of the attendants at this shrine. The figure of Parishvanátha in

the upper floor—I allude to the most conspicuous idol, which occupies the centre of the altar and immediately facing its entrance—is in point of execution and finish considerably superior to its counterpart in the Pársí-wárá. There were not wanting in number, the Lilliputian form of the Tírthákar, both in marble and slate. Descending into the vault refuge, I was equally surprised and pleased with the arrangements which studied so artfully with the improvement of the times, to impose upon the credulity of the people. There was every appearance of recent labor in forming a couple of domes supported by plain pillars and illustrated with illuminated figures: there were also three recesses, somewhat tastefully finished, on each of the side aisles, and longitudinal loop-holes had been formed by the plastered stair-way to rarify the denseness and dankness of the apartment. It was here that idolatry presided with that pomp gratifying to the pride of its worshipper, and Shantínátha as he announced his rule by the presence of the ox carved upon the plinth, appeared to govern with that sternness which is veiled by the pageantry only exposed to the zealous devotee.

The city and vicinity of Cambay are crowded with religious crypts and masjíds—all of an inferior stamp; and though constantly noticing the varieties presented to my inspection, I saw nothing (with the exceptions already given) out-rivaling mediocre artistic skill. Most of them are constructions within a century in date, and the tourist will return on each occasion jaded by his investigating spirit and ill-repaid for his toils. A visit to the famous báurí of Vadavá would have taken me further out of Cambay than I had desired: it is said to have been built A. D. 1482, and is attributed variously by report to Jáina skill and Muslím wealth. Otherwise, I have seen all that Cambay can shew, and by to-morrow I hope to pursue my journey for Ahmedábád—the glory of the Gujarát province, the City of Kings, of Tombs, and of—*ruins!*

CHAPTER IX.

DEPARTURE from Cambay—Sojítrá—Arrival at KAIRA—European dwellings—Local corps—The English Church—The Fort and ancient Town—Passing data—Leave Kairá—Ruins upon the approach of Ahmedábád—The Jumá Masjíd—Mausolea of Ahmed Shahái and the Ladies of his Zenáná.

BETWEEN 9 and 10 o'clock of the morning of the 14th, I introduced myself into one of the ordinary carts of Gujarát, which carried all that I required either in the shape of baggage or provisions. In the absence of springs to the primitive construction I had engaged, I had the vehicle lined with straw, over which was thrown both mattrass and mats; bamboo framework covered with *namdá* and grey madapollam protected me from the rays of the sun—while a sharp, dry, cold breeze, at this season of the year and in such a climate as that of Gujarát, rendered the day anything but disagreeable. At Nagorí, a couple of *bomías* (guides) were engaged, who came forward 'right merrilie' with bows, quivers full of arrows, swords, *gudgudís* (the portable huká), tobacco-bags, and opium doses—to make part of my escort. During the trip their time was chiefly taken up in smoking; and it were as well to have consulted the clear blue sky above of the scenes around, as to have sought of these poor ignorant creatures information of any complexion. I did not carry weapons with me. I had nothing to lose of value to a native—beyond my MSS. and the literary or other collections I had made at Cambay, and I trusted rather to my defenceless and unimportant situation for safety, than the prowess of my protectors. The country we went over was composed of a heavy, sandy soil; and the cart with each roll of the axis appeared to plunge inextricably into the

high-road as it was, only to recover itself for another moment and perform a similar evolution; thus the journey was prosecuted. By 7 P. M. at this rate of travelling I had gained Sojítra, a distance of about fifteen miles from Cambay. The Travellers'-bangalá here has been recently constructed, and I took up quarters in it for the night. A little milk was procured after considerable difficulty, and butter was not to be had at all. Sojítra belongs to the Gáikawád: it is celebrated as one of the hamlets of Gujarát which supplies a description of dancing-girls, called *Páthar*, in vogue with the voluptuaries of the province—they are also to be met at Kalol, Chakalási, and Kerá.

By 7 the following morning I was enabled to continue my trip towards *Kerá*,—or, as English orthography would render it, Kaira,—distant about twelve miles, and by four o'clock in the afternoon I was creeping my way through an avenue of lofty trees, towards the military cantonment and strangers' resort. The forest-world prevailed here: the mango-tree outvied with the *pípal* and tamarind; and doves, parroquets, crows, and monkeys, were to be seen gamboling among them. Several mounds were graced with sepulchral monuments, and the spire of the Church peeped through the only outlet permitted by the groves of trees from the sloping lawn before the bangalá. The European tenements here are ill-adapted for this climate—being low in construction, with narrow windows and doors, after the poor pointed Gothic style which prevailed in the middle-ages of England: they remind the traveller of the anxiety of the early residents here—when Kaira was the northern frontier of the Western presidency and a dragoon and two foot regiments, with a portion of artillery, occupied this quarter—to recall even in their dwellings the remembrance of their homes in the far West. A *sípáhi* who came up to me in an anomalous infantry uniform, with the letters G. P. B. upon his forage cap, acquainted me of

his being in the *Parmesavar ke battalion*—the battalion of Providence—for the Gujarát Provincial corps. This battalion was raised by Major JAMES CLARK—now of Blairgowrie—in 1825, and was transferred to Kaira in 1826-27: its maintenance is said to cost the Government Rs. 80,000 annually. A little distance beyond this cantonment is the Protestant Church, erected at an expence of eighty thousand rupees, and by equal contributions from the Government and the public: it was consecrated by HEBER in his episcopal tour through the country. The building has not been in use for years; and rumour has it, that the materials will eventually be removed to some more desirable station. I rode over to the city, said by the Bishop to be constructed of stone when not a geological specimen is to be found in the walls or for miles within its environs. It has known sad dilapidation, but a municipal fund has recently placed the walls—composed of brick and lime—in indifferent repair. The *Fort*, properly, of Kaira, was erected by Muhammad Khán Bábí—a member of the house of the Rádhánpur Nawáb—some time in the year 1736; the time in building having barely occupied more than a twelvemonth. Immediately afterwards, he relinquished its command to Khán Dorá Khán Bábí, and in whose family it remained for seven and twenty years, when it was exchanged—so proclaims both tradition and chronicle—for the present principality of Bálásínor with Dámájí Gáikawád; and subsequently—in 1804—passed to the British East India Company. The Fort is 7,425 feet—to employ the precise words given me—in circumference; and it owns five gates—the *Purá* (south), facing the Collector's Kacherí; the *Lál*, leading to the camp; the *Bálpír*, the *Ahmedábád*, and *Bárí*—the last, as the name signifies, being a wicket. The number of houses is given as 4,700; and a population of 12,000—chiefly Hindus. The Kaira Collectorate extends almost as far north as Dísá, and southward to the Gulf of Cambay; while its eastern and western

limits are traced by the Míhí and Sábarmátí: the principal sections, under Mámlatdárs, are—Mátar, Naríad, Mundá, Kaparwanj, Tásrá, Nepar, and Borsad. The gross revenue is estimated at fifteen lacs annually, though considerably more in bye-gone years—the cause of this declension continues to baffle enquiry; and the cost of collection is no more than 18 per cent. The Bálásinor *gadí* pays Ghausdaría tribute to the British of Rs. 16,000 per annum: the entire revenue of this little state is upon an average—one year with another—Rs. 50,000.

Trusting to the legends of the country, and by the dim twilight of those historical fables which reach us piece-meal every year with the industry and perseverance of the Anglo-Orientalist, not far from the site of the present, existed the ancient city, and which formed part of the noble dominion of the Jáina dynasties—in their phases of the Cháura and Solankhí races—of Gujarát. This quondam metropolis is said to have been buried or swallowed up by one of those convulsions of nature locally denominated *Dhatantar:* and the possibility of such an occurrence—apart from the volcanic tendency of the country—is borne out by the circumstance of extensive ruins of foundations being submerged by the present bed of the Wátrak river, and from which at times have been obtained bricks of an enormous size—from sixteen to eighteen inches in length, ten in the breadth, and three deep. In one of these foundations is said to have been discovered the curious copper-plates in the possession of Dr. Alexander Burn, of the Bombay Army, and which were afterwards ably read off by the late Mr. Prinsep of Bengal for the Asiatic Society. Singularly, Kaira is devoid of any works of ancient architectural merit. Of the two *báuris*, or wells, that once existed—both have been filled up and levelled from prudential motives, at the instance of Mr. Henry Webb, the present Collector of the Zillá. The natives expressed some dissatisfaction at this arrangement

when proposed, but rather than repair these crumbling and dangerous—though happy—relics of the past, they were willing to acquiesce in the alternative. One of these wells was in the town near the *Wari-Phalia*, and the other in the contiguity of the old camp. Not the vestige of a Muslím power—excepting the Fort—is to be traced; though seven miles to the north-east exists the exuviæ of the once proud Mehmudábád-kasbá; and a little better than twice that distance, is the more glorious capital of the Hindu-Musli dynasty of Gujaráshtra. It was in the vicinity of Kaira, and upon the excavation of old Hindu drains, that a host of multilated marble images of Brámínical and Jáina worship were brought to light: they are supposed to have been cast there by those Muslím invaders who ravaged the country between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries.* A large collection of Numismatical remains were also discovered at the time. Kaira is not thought a healthy station; it possesses an experimental Agri-Horticultural garden, in charge of the Civil Surgeon. At Lasundrá, in this zillá, is a hot spring, in high repute among the natives for cutaneous complaints.

16*th December*.—At 3 A. M. started on my journey, arriving at Lálí by 9 o'clock. At 1 P. M. prosecuted my trip. I had discharged my Cambay *pagís* at Kaira in consequence of one of the men having suffered from an attack of fever at Sojítra—he was incapable of proceeding further. At Kaira I engaged a single guide, as I did not see the prospect of being disturbed during the day. By 4 o'clock, I came upon the ruins to the east

* The following florid yet just sketch of these invasions may not unhappily be introduced—"The sovereign whose proudest boast it was to be a breaker of idols, armed with all the bigotry of his creed and the fiery temper of his race, and animated by the spirit of a ruthless borderer, rushed down in a series of forays on the wide provinces of Upper India. The riches of Somnat and the holy temples of Mathura were alike profaned by the invader's touch: the ringing tones of Affghanistaun's mountaineers were heard to sound in the sanctuaries of Gujarat: the Mamluk of Turkey roved in the lordly halls of Kanouj; and the wild cries of the Tartar horse disturbed those sacred shades, where Krishna, in the true spirit of an Eastern Apollo, once had loved to sport with the Gopis!" CALCUTTA REVIEW, Vol. IV. No. 8, p. 320 *et seq*.

and south of the city of Ahmedábád, and extending thus for miles before its approach; vividly realising the charge brought by a poetical yet astute writer, that Muhammadanism by "an irremediable fatalism, without destroying anything leaves all to perish around it." Here might be witnessed —"shafts of columns, sculptured capitals, architraves, cornices, pedestals; * * mingled in confusion, grouped in heaps, scattered and streaming on all sides like the lava of a volcano vomiting forth the wrecks of an empire."* It was a lamentable scene; indicative of a power which sprung with almost fairy enchantment, and shattered as speedily by some spiteful sprite. It wrung the sensitive emotions of the breast, and it repeated the tale oft-told, oft-forgot;

'All that's bright must fade—
The brightest still the fleetest:'

it rendered humiliating the proudest projects of humanity, and it raised the heart, through a series of close and complex associations, to the loftier and nobler schemes of eternity, dictated by that sublime revelation which tells of 'possessing all things, yet having—nothing!' Masjíd, ídgah, rozá, all participate in the general destruction, slowly yet effectually working its purpose. The pride of the conqueror was to be rendered more execrable than the humiliating devastation sustained by its victims: it was to share a forgetfulness among its own vaunted hordes, and it was to perish with the indolence of its own kindred! Upon the left of the road to the city, and near the village of Isánpur, was a once elegant mosk, still so, though in ruins; its festoon-cinctured foundation, its classic colonnades, its exquisite gambaj,—all sympathize in the common gloom. To the south of the fane, a side compartment was occupied by an old *fakír*, who had charged the graceful tracery of the trellis-screened walls and the loop-holes formed by decay—

* Ruins at Balbec. *Voyages dans l'Orient.* Par M. DE LAMARTINE.

with straw, and stone, and ordure, to keep out the chill blasts which sweep over the Gujarát plains during this period of the year. It was a pitiful spectacle. I have heard this shrine variously denominated *Ráni ke masjíd*, and *Shahái ke masjíd*. But I remember well the anecdote communicated to me of an European encamping here one night and depriving the sarcophagi of the handsome marble slabs which embraced them. They were carefully packed, and accompanied his baggage by dawn of the following day with his own departure from the spot; he was soon overtaken by the villagers—who subsist upon the endowments appertaining to the mosk—and obliged to restore his trophies.* These tiles may be seen in an adjoining yard. I had been walking some miles along and through such ruins.

During the trip from Cambay to Ahmedábád I found, with occasional patches of rich black loam, the soil to consist of sand mixed with a light loam—admirably adapted, I am told, for the growth of the Bájrí (*Holcus spicatus*). Wells—in most cases of capacious breadth and great depth, to meet in some degree the contingencies of drought peculiar to Gujarát—were built at convenient distances, and water was drawn by means of bullock-power. A general subsiding had occurred throughout the country with the earthquake of 1818, and old Kunbís declared to me that they now employ ten cubits less of rope to what was used heretofore. We could only procure water through the *Kumárs* (potters) of the villages; other portions of the inhabitants abstaining to tender or afford any assistance of the kind. Large pools—completely absorbed before the appearance of the summer

* A valuable truth, which cannot too frequently be inculcated.—"Inscriptions have been removed from this temple," (dedicated by the first Katís to the Sun) "and from that of Somnath, by English gentlemen. It is said that the spots whence they were extracted are shewn: it is deeply to be regretted that one of the chief means of tracing the history of a country should be thus lost owing to misplaced zeal." Letter from Major G. LeGrand Jacob (Political Agent, Katiwar) to the Secretary to Government, Bombay—*Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* 1844-46, Art. I.

months—were scattered around the country; and on their bosoms sported wild duck; while snipe, teil, curlew, and others of the sporting genera, were treading the banks. The Sáras (*ardea antigone*) with his stately step, and the Coolung of the same family, may be seen along fields of grain—cattle browsing in all directions—*pária*-dogs galloping and yelping in every quarter—shepherds stretching themselves under every inviting shade—and the peasant of the adjoining hamlet, as he pressed his steps for its rival neighbour, carolling his loudest note to announce his own daring and to extinguish the fear entertained of his loneliness. It was Indian rural life—in its purity and simplicity!

Worn and distracted, with my thoughts ardently bent upon my pilgrimage, I was delighted beyond expression at the first glimpse caught of that proud city, "erected out of the ruins of Chandravati"—according to the fabled history,—"and which not only eclipsed it, but also Anhulwarra, the more ancient capital of Guzzerat. When"—continues the musical harmony of this expounder of our Oriental mythos—"Ahmed the grandson of the apostate Jaka * * determined to immortalize himself by a new capital, * * * not content with transporting the materials of Chandravati, he resolved that its soul as well as body should migrate—that the population should follow the spoils of the temples and the dwellings. But the Jain votary, the soul of Chandravati, when placed between the holies of his faith, Mounts Aboo and Arasinni, languished on the banks of the Sahermaty, and, like the banished Hebrew of old, wept by its waters, as he contemplated the gorgeous mosques erected from the shrines of his ancient abode."*

I entered the city of Ahmed Shahái, by the Jamálpúr gate, as the evening hour of eight was announced, and occupied a room for the night at the Travellers' Bangalá in Mírzápurá.

* Tod's *Travels in Western India.*

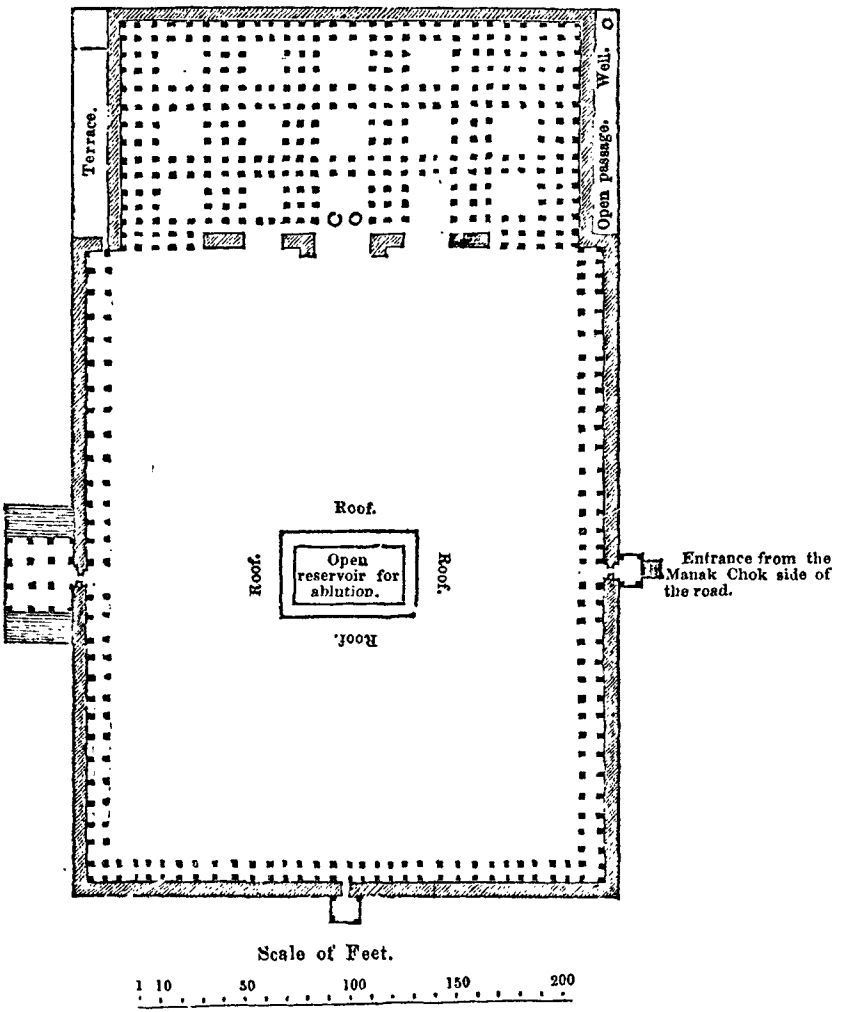
17*th December*.—Owing to the kindness of an acquaintance, I have been so fortunate as to procure a house in a compound to the east of the city gaol. It originally formed the portico or porter's lodge—at all events, the entrance into the Medical College, Hospital, and Caravanserái, to which it had at various intervals been converted, and is the only portion of the surviving foundation—the interior having been transformed into a more homely figure for the occupation of an English family. Over the entry, and leading into the first floor, formerly existed a marble slab, conveying, in Persian characters, the name of the founder, and the object of the edifice. The building presents an agreeable appearance—from three parts of an octagonal figure springing between two plain and narrow wings, which at the ceiling make the terraced roof, peculiar to Mogli constructions, and rather prevalent in Calcutta. In the afternoon I walked over the area of the Three Gates, and proceeded to the Jumá Masjíd, to which there is an obscure means of admittance from the south of the street, in the vicinity of Mának-Chok.

The spacious dimensions of JUMA MASJID are only to be rivalled with their filthy condition, and an utter absence of the gorgeous features pourtrayed by the active fancy of JAMES FORBES.* The marble pavement of the area, aisles, and the bed of the fountain, has been removed, if ever here; while a very spurious description of the material occupies the floor of the sanctuary. Bees had formed nearly a dozen honey-combs along the haunches of the lofty elliptic skeleton-arch which overhangs the grand entry into the mosk. In the floor immediately before it, and leading directly to the centre *keblá* or Imám's sconce, is an inverted plinth, said to be that of the recumbent figure of Parísvanátha, which is buried in the masonry; and upon this plinth every devout Muhammadan is expected to stamp his foot before he advances into the nave of the masjid. No emblazoned senten-

* *Oriental Memoirs*. London: 1813.

ces—which Forbes would introduce—grace the walls of the corridors; but in lieu, single Persian letters of the *Nesh-Tárík* character, some of which are fully seven feet in length, may be seen in lamp-black (or very similar material) along the N. W. and S. E. quarters of the quadrangle: these merely furnish the normal truths of Islamite faith. The reservoir in the centre of the court-yard contained a small pool of water; around it were

GROUND PLAN OF THE JUMA MASJID AT AHMEDABAD.



tile-covered walks, about seven feet in the width. The eastern colonnade was occupied by mendicants, who were vociferating to us for alms; and travellers that had taken shelter here, from their poverty, during the period of their sojourn in Ahmedábád. So much for the disadvantageous circumstances under which the *Great Temple* was seen. GRINDLAY's painted engraving is too warm in its colors, and incorrect in detail; FORBES' drawing has many and more painful inaccuracies:—neither do justice to the Masjíd.

When our own ecclesiastical architecture has to be treated, we have certain technical expressions—as the atrium, apse, transept, &c.,—for defined parts of such erections, which at once lead us to understand what is intended: with its beautiful architectural designs, the Muslím masjíd has no scientific system, and hence the want that is felt of adequately conveying what is desired to be known. The *Jumá Masjíd* was raised by Sultán Násr-u-dín Abul Fateh Máhmud Shahái bín Muhammad Shahái bín Sultán Ahmed, the founder of Ahmedábád, according to the inscription given by the slab over the centre arch of the middle *meráb*, and on the first of Saffar A. H. 827: though the authors of the *Mírat Ahmadi* and *Sekandarí* set it down A. H. 815. The principal material employed in building is the ordinary trap-stone peculiar to the sea-coast of Western India—some would have it to be the grey-wacke procured from the contiguity of the Rann of Kach: and whether it be acclimated to soil, or the effects of Sol has altered its pristine character, it is at present almost black with age, and venerable in appearance. From the foregoing ichnographic section it will be observed that the pile is oblong in form, with a spacious court-yard, and colonnades on the sides, excepting at the western extremity, which is taken up by the temple. Here are three open archways, and the largest and centre one of these is adorned on either side by a *mínár*. The external decoration of the

mínárs is at once elaborate and exquisite; being cinctured with fanciful devices throughout. They possess spiral stone stair-ways within, which lead to an upper gallery and the roof of the mosk; unfortunately, these towers are shorn of their original proportions just at the sill of the window from whence the *muezzín* was doubtless recited, and of those portions particularly which participated in a singular vibrative action, occasioned by the application of a little force at the arch in the upper gallery—one minaret partook of the motion of the other, "although," adds GRINDLAY, who saw them, "there is no perceptible agitation of the part connecting the two on the roof of the building." The earthquake of 1818 was the occasion of the loss thus sustained. In a demi-sconce upon one side of each mínár, and nigh the smaller arches, occurs an elegantly wrought representation in relievi of the *barr* nude of its foliage. As the mosk is entered through the chief archway—the immediate entry is ventilated by a raised ceiling, with a galleried terrace intervening between it and the ordinary roof, with greater scope or range to southward than the opposite direction; and the skeleton arches, the trellised-parapets, and wall-screens, all exhibit so many achievements in architecture from the care and delicacy employed in their finish. The body of the mosk is, perhaps, too closely occupied with pillars; but to this circumstance I will make allusion hereafter. The pillars themselves are of peculiar design, both in construction and ornament: the base and capital are octagonally formed, each of these making together about two-eighths of the entire column, while the shaft is plain except centrewise, where the same characteristics appertaining to it above and below are evinced. Bells, with triple-chains, and festoons, exist on the columns. The *keblás* are richly wrought. Both the lower, and higher, roof are crowded with domes: from the latter an excellent view of a part of the city is obtained. Had I not previously seen the splendid mosk of Cambay, the pre-

sent scene upon inspection would not have disappointed those extravagant expectations I had improperly nourished; as *it* was, the elaborate sculpture and the magnificent *coup d'œil* from the point at which I gained the open area before the masjíd, compensated for the various, the singular, and the wayward contradictions to be noticed in every part of the building. All this, however, only confirms the abundant traces in this mosk of its principal workmanship being composed of the remains of Hindu temples spoliated with a view of adorning it: the portico over the southern entrance betrays marks of a couple of figures of the Brámín Pantheon which the zeal of Islamism had not effectually effaced from the pilasters in which they appear.

The eastern doorway brought us immediately before the mausoleum which covers the remains of Shahái Ahmed, and of his son Muhammad Shahái the First, and grand-son Jalál Khán entitled Katb-u-dín, who successively succeeded him on the throne. The tombs of the royal kindred are of pure white marble, raised a couple of feet above the tesselated pavement: they were covered with filthy red cloth of local manufacture, and a talc-ball suspended from the ceiling hung over the monument of the founder of the city, which occupies the centre of the *rozá*, while his descendants lay on either side of him—the bodies being laid after the prescribed Muhammadan form, north and south, with the countenance directed westward—towards the shrine of the Arabian prophet. A number of attendants—who maintain themselves by public charity—contribute to keep the mausoleum clean; portions however of the surrounding corridors bespeak a prospect of their early destruction—care not having been taken to ward the effects, now apparent, when first in progress.

Another fifty paces due eastward led us into the court-yard, where the ruins of a magnificent open mausoleum exist upon a stone foundation of some ten feet in height. An elegant trellised style of open sculpture

adorns the windows of the quadrangular colonnades, which are supported within by a series of pillars running transversely; while the firmament canopies the gravestones of the princesses of the royal house of Gujarát. The tomb in the centre of the walled area is stated to cover the remains of Moglaí Bíbí, the Queen of Ahmed Shahái:—it is of white marble, quaintly carved along the sides with censers held by triple chains, and flanked by longitudinal bars. Immediately above the fillets of the basement is a Persian inscription in miniature characters, chastely wrought in relievi, and within a neat narrow cincture. Among a variety of other monuments, chiefly mortar-washed—erected over children, women, a pet parrot, and a monkey,—is one of black-stained marble, with mother-of-pearl devices (of trees, etc.) inlet à la Mosaic: this fanciful and handsome piece of workmanship is ascribed to the affectionate regard of the monarch for a favorite Odalik—Murkí Bíbí, by name—of his hárím. No "cypresses and pomegranates, surrounded with flowering shrubs,"* shade these marble tombs of the members of the imperial zenáná; but, filth and wretchedness, mangy curs and squalid personifications of 'the human form divine,' are painfully evident. I attempted to obtain the corner column of a marble tomb which had been ruthlessly violated; it was elaborately wrought and worthy the preservation: unfortunately, gold could not recover what artifice might accomplish at the risk of a city's murmur; and my companion judiciously desired me to abandon the hope of ever gaining it.

Within the vicinity of these mausolea exist a host of inferior tombs, borrowing their importance from a regal atmosphere. One such, is a recent Christo-Musli vault, in an oblong chamber of mean dimensions, but the walls are made of a screen of trellis-work of very tasteful design: above the door-way of the entrance is a Persian inscription upon a slab received

* Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs.*

in the wall. At the eastern end is another white-washed erection:—the slab employed here had virgin white characters upon a green field, which afforded attraction from the agreeable contrast. It was almost dusk when the spot was quitted for my temporary dwelling.

CHAPTER X.

AHMEDABAD—The City and its River—Chronological History—Soil and Productions of the Zillá—European population—Dádá Harír's Báurí—Normal School—Visit to Rání ke Masjíd—Sultán Katb-u-dín's Mosk—Masjíd and Rozá of Nawáb Suját Khan—Mint of Jahángír—Tankábárí—Pír-mad-Shahái—Swámí Naráyen Shrine—The Chotá-Jumá Masjíd—Mának Burj—Sculpture in a desecrated mosk.

AMEDABANT, Amedavat, Ahmadabath, Ahmdavad, as it has been variously romanized, but properly Ahmedábád—*the abode of Ahmed*—significant at once of its origin and foundation, is situated in Lat. 23° 1′ N., Long. 72° 42′ E. Of the various conflicting accounts respecting this city, some would confound it with Nerwala, the ancient Anhulwárá, and the former capital of the province;* FERISHTA, the Persian historian, ascribes its existence to the air and situation of Yessavul, one of its present wards or departments;† and FORBES attributes its appearance to a whim of Shahái Ahmed in admiration of the beauty of the vegetable world upon a hunting visit paid the spot.‡ Pattan—not many leagues beyond—had been previously the seat of certain Mogli deputies, the last of whom was the father of Shahái Ahmed. The *Mírat Ahmadí*,—a local chronicle from the pen of one of the great officers of state,—merely mentions that the Sultán, when returning from Baroch, "having reached the neighbourhood of Yessavul, determined to extirpate Assá Bhil"—a noted freebooter,—"and to found the good city

* TOD'S *Travels in Western India.*

† BRIGGS' *Rise and Fall of the Mahomedan Power.*

‡ *Oriental Memoirs.*

of Ahmedábád, being instigated to do so by Shaikh Ahmad Khattu Ganj Baksh." And subsequently, "in the year of the Hijra 823, Ahmad Sháh, having returned to settle the boundaries of his own country, dispersed the refractory, and, destroying the Hindu temples, built mosques in their place."*

The City of Ahmedábád—to attempt a description à la Cobbett—is built in the form of the letter D. with a blow in the belly, from whence the curve does not so regularly and boldly terminate in the lower limb as in the upper. The perpendicular portion of the letter faces the west, and extends along the banks of the Sábarmatí, which originally ran through the square area about the Káranj, and between the Badhr and Three Gates, but the course of the stream was diverted by Máhmud Shahái the First, surnamed Bígadá, when the city walls were constructed under his mandate in 891 A. H., corresponding with 1485 of the Christian æra. The Sábarmátí (*vulgace* Sabermaty)—frequently confounded with Sarasavatí, the Arethusa of Gujarát†—takes its rise in a mountain not far from Ambá Bhaváni, a celebrated Hindu shrine on the confines of Márwár and Gujarát: it flows thence in a due south-south-westerly direction, and disembogues itself into the Gulf of Cambay at its junction with the river Mihí. At Wáuta, in the Dolká pargana, occurs the confluence of seven streams which intermingle in the waters of the Sábarmátí; here a great annual fair is held upon the Kártak-ke-punim—the full of the first Hindu moon of their year,—which is resorted to by people from even Katíwár. It was formerly believed that the Sábarmátí had its origin in the Debar lake in the province of Udípur;‡ but this idea has become exploded with more accurate knowledge.

The circumference of the city-walls is said to extend over five miles, six furlongs, and twenty-eight póles: it averages in height some fifteen

* BIRD'S *History of Gujarát.*

† TIEFFENTHALER first introduced this plausible error. Vide *Bernouilli*, Tome I., p. 374, *et seq.*

‡ HAMILTON (WALTER)'S *Hindostan*—the popular Gazetteer—enunciates this fact.

feet, and from four to five feet in stoutness—excepting at the large bastions which occur almost at every fifty paces distance; it is occasionally perforated for musketry. There are eighteen gates, of which three have been closed: several of them possess the peculiarity of old iron shoes being nailed to the wooden leaves of the gates in an inverted form—a circumstance wholly unaccountable; for I could elicit nothing beyond astonishment at my enquiry upon so frivolous a point, and which existed in all probability farther than their forefathers' recollection! After the capture of the city by General GODDARD, the wall in various quarters had large breaches through which carts and vehicles of every variety could enter, and rendering the city as unsafe as the suburbs, while robberies and murders were of no uncommon occurrence: in 1832, the municipal authorities levied a special tax towards the repair of the city wall, which is now in excellent condition; the streets too are being widened, and the principal thoroughfares are watered twice-a-day. The area of the city is given at 2·24 *dec.* miles: the native population at 90,000 souls—chiefly Hindus.

The attention may now be fairly directed to the various phases of government which this city has owned, with other data,—given in Chronological order. When Anhulwárá, or rather Pattan—the modern, and better known, appellation—was the seat of the Viceroys of the Potentates of Ajmír, the father of the founder of Ahmedábád was the first who proclaimed an independent sovereignty in Gujarát—beyond this circumstance, Muzaffir Shahái the First, has no connexion with the history of this city: commencing then with his son to the dissolution of his dynasty, the period over which it extends falls a little short of one hundred and sixty-three years. The names of the different Sovereigns will be given as they successively ascended the Ahmedábád *gadí*.

A. D.

1410.—Ahmed I.....Reigned 31 Years.

1441.—Muhammad I..... „ 10 „

1451.—Jalál Khán, entitled *Katb-u-dín*..... „ 8 „

1459.—Fat'h Khán, called *Máhmud Bigadá*..... „ 52 „

1511.—Khálil Khán, otherwise *Muzaffir Shahái* II. or 'the Clement'..... „ 15 „

1526.—Sultán Sekandar,—reigned two months and sixteen days—

1526.—Sultán Bahádur..... „ 10 „

1536.—Sultán Máhmud II..... „ 18 „

1554.—Ahmed II..... „ 7 „

1561.—Sultán Muzaffir III: during whose reign the City voluntarily surrendered to the overwhelming force encamped before it under Akbár, the Mogul Emperor, in 1572. The Sultan was afterwards murdered in Katiwár; but his rule extended over a period of..... 11 „

1572.—During the reign of Akbár, there were *nine* Lord-Lieutenants of the province, who wholly resided during their period of office at Ahmedábád.

1605.—In Jahángir's reign—*Eight.*

1627.—Shahái Jahán's—*Twelve.*

1666.—Aurangzeb—*Ten.*

1707.—Shahái Alam's—*One.*

1712.—Muhammad Shahái—*One.*

1712.—Muzaffir Shahái—*in abeyance.*

1719.—The next Emperor's reign was brief, and the vice-royalty an empty honor.

1725.—Battle of Shahái Bhág, where the Maharáta forces were defeated by Hámed Khán.

1735.—Najím-u-dáulá Momen Khan is appointed Viceroy, and his title disputed by the *Sarsubá* (Deputy Lieutenant) of the previous Governor.

1737.—Momen Khán and the Gáikawád obtain equal interest in the revenue and authority of the City by the capitulation of Ratan Síng.

1743.—Momen Khán dies; and Fídái-u-dín Khán (?) his brother, and Motofír Khán his brother, permitted by the Maharátas to share their kinsman's interest in the City.*

1755.—† Jíyan Murd Khán Bábí appointed to the charge of the Mogul quarter by a brother of Momen Khan; but ultimately usurped the entire government. He subsequently surrendered—in April—upon very advantageous terms to himself. The Maharátas had now sole supremacy in the city. "The revenue"—to quote GRANT DUFF—"was to be equally divided between the Peishwa and Gaekwar, but the whole garrison was furnished by the Peishwa, except one gateway which was occupied by the troops of Dummajee; the latter however paid six thousand rupees annually to assist in defraying the expences."

1780.—General GODDARD encamped his force to the south of the City at Shahái Bíkan; and took it by assault upon the third of Safar A. H. 1194, corresponding with 15th February of this year. The attack appears to have been made at the Khánjang-Darváza in Mírzápurá, by the Masjíd in its vicinity (and adjoining the Protestant cemetery) which is pitted with shot, and has since been deemed 'desecrated' by Musalmán. "The forlorn hope was led by Serjeant FRIDGE, of the Bombay European Regiment" (now the First Fusiliers); "the grenadiers of the Bombay division followed: of the British troops one hundred

* GRANT DUFF'S *History of the Mahrattas.*

† HAMILTON (WALTER)'S *Hindostan* has it 1774: an error.

and six were killed and wounded: among the latter were ten European officers and four gentlemen-volunteers, three of whom died of their wounds—viz. Major SPAITH, Bombay Engineers; Captain GOUGH, Bengal Native Infantry; and volunteer WRIGHT."* Immediately upon capture the General permitted an indiscriminate *lut* (sack) for three days. So soon as the painful proceeding was about being enforced, Natusá Kushálchand, better known as *Nagar Set*, Sheik Muhammad Sále *the Kádhí*, and Mía Mírzá Amu *the Pádshahai Diván*—three of the leading members of the community of Ahmedábád—waited upon him and prayed that the present wanton measure might be arrested. GODDARD, by the accounts given, seems to have got wroth upon this solicitation, and demanded the occasion of their previous sullen obstinacy. He was soon pacified by the calm and noble reply of the chief of this deputation—"They could not in common honor act adverse to the ruling authorities who had afforded them protection hitherto; the moment that power had ceased to exist, they came forward to pay their obeisance to the conqueror, not so much for themselves as for their fellow-citizens, who could ill sustain farther calamity." *The local Government had fled by the Khánpur Darváza.* The General, upon this explanation, issued the following manifesto, a copy of which, in the original (Persian) form, is annexed—

"Be it known to Natusá Nagar Set, and others the inhabitants, countrymen, and people, of Ahmedábád, that it is necessary for you at present to remain in tranquillity in

* GRANT DUFF'S *History of the Mahrattas.* "On the 10th of February, the English army encamped before Ahmedavad, the capital of Guzerat. It was defended by a great number of troops, part of which were 6000 Arabs and 2000 cavalry. The batteries were ready the 12th at noon: by the 14th at night several breaches were practicable, and at daybreak on the 15th, the European and Sepoy grenadiers, led by the gallant Colonel HARTLEY, took it by storm after a vigorous resistance from the brave Arabs, greater number of whom fell. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, amounted but to one hundred and twenty, but that of the enemy to upwards of 1000." *Historical Account of* BOMBAY, *etc.* London: 1781.

your abodes, and to entertain no misgivings in your breasts, but to pursue your various avocations as heretofore, so that no one, in any manner whatsoever, will afford the least annoyance: therefore, let this injunction be known and the same carried into execution. —Dated this fifth day of Safar A. H. 1194.—THOMAS GODDARD."

The original document is still in existence, and in the possession of Set Phulshá Dípshá, the grandson of Nagar Set. The translate of the General's seal is given thus—

"The Amír-al-dáulá, General Goddard, Báhádur, Victorious in Battle, Servant of Shahái Alam Pádshahái Gází.—Dated 1193 A. H."

The city, according to previous convention, was delivered to H. H. Fate Síng, the Gáikawád, and a small detachment of our troops was left for a time, along with his own men to guard it: in other words, the city was restored to the Peshwá, with reservation of the Gáikawád's privileges.

1803.—Peshwá leased his interest for ten years to the Gáikawád.

1813.—The Peshwá refused its renewal, though even solicited by the British authorities to spare the collision of contesting powers.

1818.—The British entered the city in a civil capacity—on the 21st of Muharam A. H. 1233 according to Musli chronology—when MR. EDMUND IRONSIDE was appointed to the Adhálat, and MR. JOHN ANDREW DUNLOP to the Collectorate. The Gáikawád having been provided by political arrangement for his interest in the city.

The zillá of Ahmedábad is composed of seven parganás, viz;—Daskrohí Ahmedábád, Duskrohí Jetalpur, Dholká, Danduká, Víramgám, Parántej, and Gogá: it comprises an area of some 4000 miles, and, excepting the fourth and seventh parganás, the others have been surveyed and reported upon by our officers between the years 1820 and 1827. The net revenue is estimated at 13 láks per annum: eleven-twelfths of this amount is obtained from agrarian resources; the stamps next supply a large quota,

and the abkárí and opium receipts follow: the charges for collection amount to nearly twenty per cent upon the gross proceeds. The population of the zíllá, it is said, would fall little short of 600,000 souls. In respect to Meteorological observations, Dr. SAMUEL SPROULE, the Civil Surgeon of the station, tells me that in a series of Thermometric readings that he had maintained for ten years—he found the mercury never to run above 110° *Fahr.* in the hot weather, while it has fallen so low as 41° in the winter months, and the cold at the time as penetrating as during a hard frost in Scotland. Dr. S. had attended to the Pluviometer only the last four or five years, and though in 1846—a very favourable year throughout India—the fall of rain for the season was found to be 47 inches and upwards, the annual average he would fairly count at 30 inches.

The ordinary soil of the Ahmedábád district is a mixture of sand and loam, locally denominated *Guráru,* and peculiar to Gujarát; its fertility varying with reference to its component parts, and is susceptible of much improvement. The *Káli Boín,* or black loam, is another variety, and is generally used for wheat crops during the dry weather; the miry nature of this soil in the rains prevents anything being raised upon it. While the first description prevails throughout Gujarát, the latter is only to be met to the West of the Sábarmátí. There are also extensive patches of black and white soil, known as *Bísar* and *Kiardá,*—but they are confined to low situations where accumulations of water and moisture occur. The *Guráru* soil is favourable to the cultivation of Bájrí, Juárí, Math, and other like farinaceous plantations,—but these are merely raised for local consumption, and never intended for export: Sugar-cane has been found to thrive well on it, but in some parts cultivators have been deterred from raising it on account of white ants—this has led them to resort to low lands, in the dry beds of rivers, where a rich loam is formed by the freshes in the wet

months. The latter description of ground is known as *Bhotá*, from being exposed to inundations, and some of these have been found so severe as to carry devastation along either bank of the stream for miles, the character of the land being often altered in consequence, sand deposits supplying the place of the fertile loam. *Kíardá* lands are admirably adapted for the growth of rice, and the Ahmedábád zillá is remarkable for furnishing the best flavored: the variety known as *Pankálí* has the peculiarity of two lateral wings projecting from the head of the grain—hence the denomination from *Pankía*, a wing. This soil is readily distinguished without any minute investigation, from the fields being embanked by ridges of earth three and four feet high, with a view of securing a quantity of rain water. The Bourbon cotton has been found successful in the Guráru soil, but merely from experimental cultivation; and (Mr. STOCKENBROOK) a young Indo-Briton was singularly fortunate with a crop of clover when sown in the month of August. The *Kunbís* are the most expert and attentive agriculturists of the country, and the lands in their tenancy are stated to be taxed at higher rates than those in the possession of Kolís, Rájputs, and other similar lawless tribes.

Of Fruit, indigenous to this part; the *mango* merits the most prominent notice, from the extensive topes to the south of the city, within the vicinity of the villages of Batwá and Isánpur: while the Imámdár of Nákol—four miles to the East of Ahmedábád—has planted upwards of 2000 trees on his grounds and along the road leading to his village, which in the course of a few years will prove an agreeable avenue; it should be added, that this part of the country had hitherto been very bare of trees. So abundant are mangos during the season they appear, that itinerant fruiterers proceed with large quantities to Kátíwár; and in times of plenty, barter the fruit for wheat and other grain, weight for weight. The des-

cription of fruit approximates to the Goa variety in appearance, but the flavour is far more luscious. This calls to mind a tree in one of the Gáikawád's villages in the Charotar, which in every stage of the growth of the fruit, it is remarkably sweet: this striking peculiarity renders the tree of some importance, and it is in consequence guarded at all seasons by a band of peons—the fruit being collected for the Court of Barodá. This circumstance, I have heard it said, was mentioned to the late Dr. J. G. MALCOLMSON during his tour in Gujarát, with a view of his obtaining slips of the tree—but the result of his efforts, if ever any such had been made, remain unknown.

The fruit next valued by the natives—is the *Kírní* or *Reán* (Mimusops Hexandra,)* which ripens in May and June, and contains a clammy juice agreeable to the palate. It is in size and appearance very like an ordinary olive. *Reán* wood is generally used by the carpenters of Gujarát for windows and door sills, in consequence of its withstanding the rot, and attacks of white ants: though brittle in nature, it is highly esteemed for its hardness, and emphatically called in consequence—iron wood.

The *Bhera* or *Borá* (Ziziphus Jusseba) is grown extensively. Natives of all classes are passionately fond of this fruit, and the larger sizes realize enormous prices. I have seen them the size of a pigeon's egg, and sold for four lbs. the rupee. A species of Shell Lac is obtained from the upper branches of the *Behar* tree, which is used by turners in lacquering toys, ornaments for cradles, and window rails.

Karrandá (Carissa curandas) appears in June and July, and is liberally used for pickling, in which form it is thought highly delicious. A berry of the like kind, called *Orewá*, of the size of a small Betel-nut, is partaken of when salted without the intermixture of any acid ingredient.

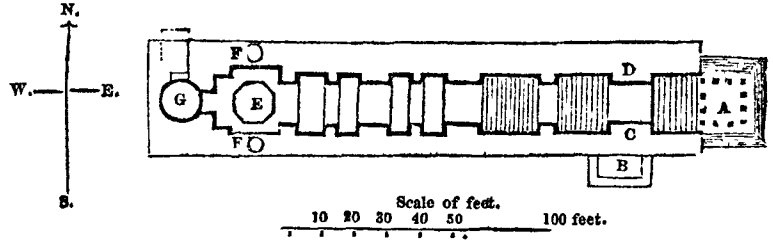
* Vide RIDDELL's *Manual of Gardening*.

Muhammadan cemeteries are generally overrun with custard-apple trees, while the wealthy cultivate the pomegranate—the rind of the latter fruit finding purchasers in the *Bháusan* of Ahmedábád and Sarkhej, who employ it as a mordaunt in their dyeing occupations.

Sour limes alone seem to be exported; while the expressed juice is packed in kegs and forwarded to Bombay, where it finds ready sale among the shipping. Trees of this fruit are extensively planted about Ahmedábád, particularly to the west, in the villages of Kochrab and Pátrí.

20*th December*.—At an early hour, accompanied by a newly-formed acquaintance, set out for the Kolápur gate; and after a ride of half a mile over heavy ground leading due north-east, we arrived at the handsome and famed Well known to the natives as *Dhyí Harí ke báurí* or Nurse Harí's well, said to be a miniature counterpart of the one at Adálaj built by Ráni Radbhái, the wife of Rájá Wírsání, one of the Amírs of Sultán Máhmud Shahái. The legend generally current respecting the well we now visited, is, that a female of the name of Resham, a Grâsyá by tribe, who upon her conversion to Islamism was called Dhyí Harí, having obtained entry into the hárím of Máhmud Bígadá as nurse to one of the royal children, determined upon attracting the notice of the monarch. Intent upon her purpose, she vowed the construction of a building similar to the Adhálaj one, of the value of a diamond bracelet; her success by means of an amorous intrigue led to the foundation of her own fortune and the formation of this well.

THE DADA HARIR KE BAURI.



A. 12 Pillars surmounted by a dome.
B. Reservoir for watering cattle.
C. Sanskrit inscription within the báurí and on this compartment.
D. Arabic inscription on this side.
E. The centre well; having several tiers of galleries, some of them under water. Entrances at F. F.
G. Well from which Gosiji Mahárâj's garden is irrigated.

Its extreme length from the verge of the western ground (the bulb at which having been once occupied by a Persian wheel) to the steps at the eastern end is one hundred and ninety six feet; and its greatest breadth does not exceed forty feet. The eastern extremity is graced by a cupola, commanding an area of twelve feet square supported by as many pillars; and from which entrance is effected into the body of the well by four flights of eight (and alternately nine) steps each. Between each two flights, springs a columned gallery with a sconce on either side. In the first gallery these recesses have been supplied on the southern wall by a marble slab with a Sanskrit inscription, which one of the Walab Kul Sádus partially deciphered for us at the time: according to the account here rendered, the foundation appears to have been laid in *Posh Sud Sámwár magam Akshatrí* when the sun entered the Zodiacal sign of Leo, and in the corresponding years of Sawant 1556 and Shálívahán Shak 1421—equivalent to A. D. 1499. It cost 3,29,000 Memudís.* The Northern inscription is in Arabic and also in white marble: its purport amounts to—"Dádá Harír originally established a purá in the vicinity of the *báurí* and within the bounds of the village of Asarvá, and which he called Harípurá. He also built the Masjíd and Gambaj; the latter is his burial place. The báurí was constructed A. H. 906, corresponding with A. V. 1556, at an expence of 3,29,000 Memudís." This information completely upsets the fabulous tale of the nurse, and attributes the báurí to the benevolence of a gentleman; perhaps that love for the marvellous and romantic which prevails in the prurient imagination of the Muslím, was willing in this instance to render it typical in its construction with the Adhálaj structure. In both slabs, a chisel or other equally effective implement had rudely injured some of the characters. The

* In the time of MANDLESLO, Memudís were current at Baroch, Surát, Barodá, &c. The currency was thus estimated: 26 pice to a Memudí, and 54 to a rupee. Vide DAVIS'S *Translation*.

Sanskrit was said to be the original inscription, but the mixed style of architecture, and the proximity of a mosk at the western end of the well, would of themselves upset the statement of the Sádus who were desirous of claiming the property: doubtless it arose under the guardianship of the Hindu Silpi, but beyond this fact, their observation can be of little value. At the western extremity of the tank is a semi-circular wall about twenty feet in diameter, and sculptured in floriated tracery to the sheet of water in the body of the well; from the bulb adjoining, the stream is occasionally raised by the description of bullock-power used in Gujarát. Hence, to the centre of the báurí, are series of galleries (one above another) supported by double columns nine feet in height. Immediately before the circular construction and on the northern and southern terraces of the Tanká, are cupolas which spring above the spiral stone stairways—artfully devised to the level of the terrace—leading to the range of galleries below, to the very bason.

The Masjíd adjoining has the only peculiarity of the upper portion of the mínárs being exceedingly plain, and at a distance bear the appearance of towers of some castellated erection. The mausoleum has been violated—the tombs destroyed—and all but the northern entrance plastered up. But for the timely appearance of a Fakír, whom the Kádhí had entrusted with the care of the mosk and well; the dependants of the Ahmedábád Gosijí Maháráj would have enclosed the *báurí* within the rapid encroachments they are making, both north and south of the spacious grounds upon which this Agomenous of the Walab Kul takes up his residence. The intervention of the proper authorities would in this instance spare the traveller from any obligations which the future may impose in visiting Dádá Harír's báurí, if it should be impaled by the ambitious views of the Gosijí's disciples. The Government granted them their present property in lieu of

a plot two miles to the west of the city, where a butt has been raised for artillery-practice.

On the return homeward we passed several assemblies of native youths who occupied the varandás of the ground-floors of different houses, vociferating their various studies despite the motley business arrangements carried on before and about them, and which did not appear to distract their attention. The tutor may be discovered in some dark nook with his grain bags about him which the scholars supply with their appearance every morning. We elicited that the course of instruction thus bestowed extends over two or three years, and for which the preceptor receives, by way of remuneration, from four to six rupees according to the circumstances of the parents; and grain to double the value—being paid thus both in coin and kind for the entire period. The rudiments of arithmetic, and a knowledge of the vernacular to the extent of reading and writing it, form the studies of the youth.

21*st December.*—Visited a mosk, bearing the denomination of *Ráni-ke-Masjíd,* in Mírzápurá and on the southern boundary of the Travellers' Bangalá. It stands upon a mound several feet above the road. The area before the mosk was over-run with custard-apple trees and rank-weed; while screaming parrots flew out of the body of the Masjíd, and monkeys gambolled over the dome of the *gambaz.* The minarets are of considerable stoutness but broken at the roof of the Masjíd, and in lieu of a censer we traced a bell (the *Víra-ganthá* of Jáina columnar architecture) with a single chain in the elaborate sculpture which adorns them. The windows have been boldly wrought. The marble slab over the centre *keblá* had been torn out, it was said, by some Hindu vagabond. An aged Fakír with a flowing white beard, habited in a brown robe and hood, and painfully short-sighted, was seated at the entrance of the mosk reciting

with solemn air and in measured accent some verses from a Kurán or hagiological volume, closely drawn to his face; while a number of lads who were in file before him, in the general recumbent position, chaunted certain Arabic distiches, to the harmonious cadence of which they kept time by the gentle inclination of the body. Some years ago Mr. VIBART, of the Civil Service, shot a tiger in the Masjíd, and strange to say, though the brute couched for several minutes within a couple of feet of this very Fákir, he did not molest nor attack the venerable man.

In the Roza erected to the N. E. of the building, we noticed the remains of two elegant marble monuments raised to the memory of two princesses—sisters they were stated to be: the name of one being either Rupmanjanmatí or Rupmatí, after whom the mosk is occasionally called. The censer and triple chains along longitudinal bars were wrought about the tombs: there were no inscriptions. The concave of the dome is gorgeously fretted; and pillars running quadrangularly, forming four open colonnades, compass the monuments. These have also been despoiled by Hindus.

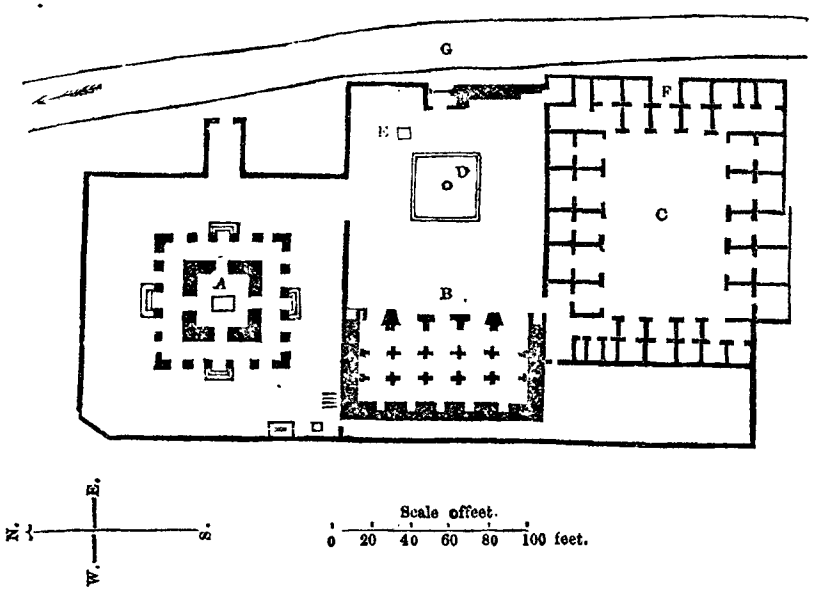
Several years ago, so I am told, a model of this Masjíd, on the scale of half an inch to a foot, was admirably executed in teakwood for Mr. J. H. JACKSON, of the Civil Service, who was at the time Collector of the Zillá. It is said to have cost Rs. 800. This elaborate piece of workmanship is now at the Cape of Good Hope.

Quitting this mosk, and directing our horses' heads towards the Burhán-ul-mulk, commonly known as the Idar-ke-chaklá near the Delhí Darwáza, we soon arrived at a large stone Masjíd built by Sultán Katb-u-dín bín Muhammad Shahái, the son of Shahái Ahmed, during his father's lifetime. The date of its foundation is given as the sixth of Ramadhán A. H. 850. This building is a large, ponderous affair, with quite an absence of taste or uniformity in its construction, though the central arch redeems

much of that heaviness apparent in the building. There is a want, too, of sufficiency of light in the body of the fane, and the greywacke pavement has been indifferently laid. Beneath the paved area extending before the Masjíd is a large *tanká*, the water from which is raised by a small aqueduct beside an obscure wicket. The mínárs are certainly wider than even those of the *Raní-ke-Masjíd*, with the same confused style of sculpture. The domes are inelegant compared to the size of the structure and the superfices they command; the carved buttresses afford an anomalous grace to the solid and plain walls; and the façade is adorned at fair intervals with a festooned cincture.

A number of gravestones were scattered about the courtyard, and there was nothing attractive or remarkable about the Rozá; where the

GROUND PLAN OF THE MOSK, ROZA, AND CARAVANSERAI, OF NAWAB SUJAT KHAN.



REFERENCES.

A. The Roza—containing the Tomb of Nawab Sujat Khan.
B. The Masjid of the Nawab.
C. The Caravanserai—with rooms around.
D. The reservoir in front of the Masjid.
E. The Tanka or underground reservoir for husbanding the rain-water which falls within the court-yard.
F. Entrance.
G. Road to Camp from the Karanj.

high priest—appointed by Prince Katb-u-dín for the performance of his ghostly functions in the adjoining Masjíd— is said to be buried with a number of his kinsmen.

22nd December.—Next to the Lunatic Asylum is the mosk of *Suját Khán,* commonly called Nawáb Suját Khán—it consequently bears the appellation of *Nawáb ke Masjíd;* is as frequently styled the *Marble,* and fancy has exerted itself so far as to term it even the *Ivory* mosk. The doorway leading immediately to it has been closed for many years, so that we were obliged to enter the adjoining caravanserái. A heavy wooden door afforded entrance into the Muzaffír-kháná, from which, by a narrow bend in the northern range of dormitories, we entered the area before the mosk. The ruins of a fountain once lined with marble first attracted notice, and upon enquiry it was elicited that the slabs had been removed at various intervals to form several tombs in the Protestant cemetery. Turning into the Masjíd I was both delighted and surprised by the different colored marble which formed the tesselated pavement—the highly finished recesses or Keblás for the Imáms—and the brilliant mortar with which the entire building was plastered. The minarets were not in keeping with the structure, and poor in point of finish: the eastern front was composed of a series of arches: a large portion of the floor of the mosk was paved into compartments for each individual performing his devotions, and a not unpleasing parti-colored mosaic made the divisions. The Keblás were indeed exquisitely wrought: an Arabic inscription in black colored letters upon a white marble field, affords the necessary detail in relation to the building and its munificent proprietor. His remains solely occupy the *rozá* adjoining, which is surrounded by an open varandá with steps and walks around, finished in corresponding style with the mosk, and with varieties of square marble tiles. The tomb which marks the spot of his sepulture, is a low, neat erec-

tion, with an inscription cut in *alto* on the three parts of a square at the northern extremity. Both mausoleum and Masjíd possess domes of no mean superfices, and without an exception the most favorable in proportion, to the majority found within its vicinity.

Facing these, with the public road which only intervenes, is a large waste plot, where once stood the magnificent palace of this nobleman. In FORBES' time it was an extensive ruin: the barrenness now has been occasioned by the Government very discriminatingly having used the materials for several public buildings.

In the afternoon I found it convenient to take the Kolápur road, which conducted me by a byepath to the *Mint of Jahángír*, situated in the very heart of the city. I was introduced into a quadrangular yard built in the old form of Mogli fortification, with an arched stone entrance, and lodges on either side for guards. A large Hindu temple to the right attracts notice; it is of recent construction, and ascribed to Sámaldás the last mint-master:—the coinage struck under his superintendence is still called Sámal Syí Rupí. Ahmedábád was one of the four cities allowed to coin gold for the Imperial administration according to the *Ayín Akbarí*. M. ANQUETIL DU PERRON mentions that Nurjíhán held the government of Gujarát for a season, when rupees were struck at Ahmedábád with the following inscription—"In the thirteenth of the installation, 1028 of the Hí-"jírá, Nur-jíhán wife of the king Jahángír, son of the king Akbár, being lady "governor of Ahmedábád." Apparently during this administration she also had coined gold-mohurs with this happy impression—"By order of the "king Jahángír, gold has acquired a hundred degrees of excellence, in "receiving the name of Nurjíhán."* Probably these were no more than *me-*

* PERRON, Vol. I., pp. CCLXVII and DXIV. To this beautiful and capricious Queen is also attributed the existence of the famous *zodiac* coins.

dallets as PINKERTON would denominate them, or *missilia*: the Romans, it is known, were in the habit of scattering the latter among their slaves upon solemn occasions. TAVERNIER has treated this subject elaborately but not with any fair critical acumen. Years have elapsed since the building was last used for its original purpose. The most primitive materials and dies are shewn. The place is now occupied by gold and silver wire-drawers, who have raised their own laboratories upon small allotments of ground conceded to them by Government for a trifling fee charged. Mr. A. B. ORLEBAR, during a recent tour in Gujarát obtained the last spare drachmæ to be found in the province, along with a number of gold zodiac, (the series almost complete) and other Mogli coins. I saw a number of the zodiac coins in copper with a gentleman who is forming a private collection. A gold slab of Apollodotus similar to the one in Sir ALEXANDER BURNES' Bactrian discoveries was also in his possession. I have been told of an ancient Hindu gold coin weighing five tolás with Sanskrit characters, which a native owns:—I could not get a sight of it though several old Venetians were shewn to me. Most numismatical remains have been discovered in drains that were opened in various parts of the country—these have also been the receptacles of mutilated images of Bramínical divinities and Jáina Tírthákars cast into them by Muhammadan iconoclasticism.

23*rd December*.—The morning was unusually mild: my friend and I got on horseback about 6 o'clock with a view of seeing the graves of the *Náu-Gaz Pír* Saints (eighteen feet.) We first proceeded to the *Tanká Bárí* now over-run with brush-wood and weeds, where a hasty visit was paid to a not inelegant masjíd, built by one of the princesses of the royal house of Ahmedábád; with a trellised *Roza* adjoining, converted into a store-room. We wended our way towards the *Hammám*, in which were a number of vaults variously intended for cold and warm baths, with reservoirs for water

and recesses for heating the liquid:—these are not in the most dilapidated condition, but the effluvia arising from human ordure was so offensive that we were obliged to seek the open air before we could pursue our antiquarian taste to our satisfaction. The Tanka is vaulted with a floor of about fifty feet square, supported by square stuccoed pillars springing from the bed of the rain-water cistern, which is said by good authority to be fifteen feet deep; this floor makes an agreeable terrace, while a fanciful reservoir in the centre breaks the otherwise monotonous appearance. By a narrow and filthy stone stair-way we were led to a smaller terrace within the vault, occupying a fourth of its dimensions: during the intense heat which prevails in Ahmedábád in the warm months, numbers of natives flock to this cool retreat.

We had seen a sufficiency of the Tanká Bári to quit it speedily and make the most of the morning. We soon arrived at and entered the mosk of *Pír Mad Shahái*, belonging to the *Barú Jamat* or Súní Bohoras. It is of recent construction, and built by general contribution. The Masjíd, as well as its courtyard, are exceedingly clean—the former being plastered with fine white marble stucco; and the date palm, plantain, and papiá, advantageously planted in the latter: a large number of houses in the street are endowments for its support.

Continuing our course, we were next at the Temple of the followers of Swámí Naráyen. A large doorway opened upon an extensive courtyard, where the fane itself, as the most conspicuous object, attracted the earliest attention:—in external appearance it does not differ from other ordinary Hindu sanctuaries. The attendants greeted us kindly, and bade us advance to the steps of the temple. The eye was soon arrested by sundry clay figures intended for Srí Krishna Bagwán—the tutelar Deity of the disciples of Swamí Naráyen and the Apollo of Hindu mythology—in various attitudes

gracing the capital of each of the columns which supported the dome springing from the centre of the cruciform foundation. Like the Pagan Divinity, each of these rude statuettes had some harmonious instrument within its control,—while the concave of the dome was adorned with colored representations of Bramínical Divinities, in which red, yellow, and blue, largely predominated: a steel wire net protected the painting from the visits of bats and pigeons. The nave of the temple was paved with marble, and with the floor of the shrine there was a primitive attempt at a mosaic pavement; a wire frame screened the shrine from the body of the temple. The images face northward: in the centre niche was a recumbent figure of Srí Kríshna robed in brocade (*kínkáb*) with one of his *avátars* on his left. In the right niche were Srí Kríshna, the figure sculptured of black slate, in a reduced form, with his wife Radhá: in the left niche was another *rupa* (form) of the Indian Apollo supported by *Dharam* (charity) and *Bugthi* (religion.) The whole of these images were wretchedly executed, and beyond their gorgeous vestments, and the jewellery which decorated them, there was nothing very peculiar or attractive; Radhá perhaps had the nearest approach to anything like the human form divine.

Upon quitting the temple, the disciples solicited our visiting the range of buildings to the northward, and paying our respects to Ayudía Parsádji Maharáj, the nephew of Sahajánand Swámí, and his elder brother's son, upon whom the mantle of the Reformer is said to have fallen. We were introduced to a man of ordinary height, with an inclination to corpulency, of a pleasing appearance, and the defect of a cataract in his right eye. He received us politely, and chairs were set for us in the varandá while he occupied his seat of honor or *gadí*. He entered into conversation with apparent delight—there was at least the absence of constraint. He named the English in terms of gratitude, for the support the sect had received; and of

respect, for the attention the order had always noticed. Sir JOHN MALCOLM, Mr. DUNLOP, a late member of Council, and the late Mr. JACKSON, Collector of Ahmedábád, along with a host of others, were named in the most flattering terms. The meeting of Bishop HEBER with the Founder of the sect at Naríad, was not forgotten; but it was remarked that at that period their Code had not been written, nor had they a temple. The code was tendered in either Sanskrít or Prácrít—the latter was preferred, and presented without hesitation. The temple at Wartál was said to be in charge of Raguverjí, the cousin of the individual we addressed. The designation of the sect was explained away by the patronymic of Sahajánand being united with one of the incarnated quadnity descended from Wásedu, the offspring of *charity* and *faith*. To form any accurate estimate of the extent of Sahajánand's influence, it was observed, that the lay followers are expected to make two annual donations of half a rupee a time to the respective temples they visit, either of Ahmedábád or Wartál:—one occasion occurs on the Ram Náumí (Chítar Sud 9th;) the other, the day after Diwálí: the tribute thus received at the first fane is said to amount to Rs. 75,000—at the latter, to nearly a lák of Rupees. Upon this basis the Swámí Naráyen's comprise about 1,75,000 souls—while double that number are to be found throughout Gujarát and beyond it. Extravagant as this may appear, it is within the bounds of truth, considering the hordes of every variety of Hindus in the province who are the followers of Swámí's Naráyen's tenets.

Crowds of disciples had gathered around us listening to the successor of the Reformer, and intently watching his glances and movements, by which their own actions were directed. There was not the slightest appearance of anxiety evinced towards concealment of their laws or the faith professed.

The Maharáj then led us to the apartments of the *Sádus* or monks, who were seated in a varandá to the back of the one we had occupied. They were variously occupied in reading, reciting, or writing. In the centre of this varandá was a niche with an elaborately worked sandal-wood border, which received a sheet of tracing paper, apparently with impressions in some carmine-colored powder, of the right and left foot-prints of Sahajánand Swámi. Below it was carefully preserved, in a book-muslin coverlet, the silk carpet-seat of the Reformer, and the *chárpái* or bedstead on which he reposed whenever he visited Ahmedábád. We were next conveyed to the mill in which the wheat consumed by the Sádus was ground; a noble bullock of the Gujarát species—hoodwinked, and with a cloth cover thrown over his back—was working it: he appeared restive on our intrusion.

Upon taking leave of the Ayudia Parsádji Maharáj, he directed our notice to the dormitories of the Sádus, above the varandá we had occupied during our early conversation, and those used by the *Santínas* or nuns along the western range of buildings: below the latter we found a huge figure of *Haníman* in a capacious recess.

Turning our horses' heads out of the great gateway, we observed a couple of clay figures, intended as mace-bearers, along the walls of the lintels.

It was too late for us to proceed to the graves of the gigantic Muhammadan Saints.

24*th December.*—Repaired to the Badhr. Adjoining the southern wall of the Collector's garden, formerly that of the Kings of Gujarát, is the royal mosk, which also bears the denomination of the *Chotá Jumá Masjíd.* Along the northern masonry are two doorways: the entrance which conducts into the area, is mean; but the stone latticed porch leading into the princesses' gallery is tastefully finished as it is elegantly wrought. The

area abounded and promiscuously with lime-stuccoed tombs—the highest of which being raised to the faithful who had perished in a great battle in the vicinity of Ahmedábád and were interred here at the particular suggestion of their monarch: the monument bears the appellation of *Ganj Shahíd,* or 'heap of martyrs.' Two inferior minarets support the plain but not inelegant eliptic arch leading into the centre of the mosk, which is intersected by eight rows of pillars running longitudinally at a distance of five feet from each other over an irregular marble pavement of fifty-three paces. Forming a tri-section of this ground: one of it is appropriated to the gallery which is upheld by richly wrought columns of five feet in height—the gallery being curtained to the east and south by stone tracery with the most fanciful floriated devices. The pulpit (the *ambo* of the ancients?) to the north of the centre *kebla* was crowned with a canopy, while the balustrades were of marble of an ochre hue, wrought into leaves in relievi: the steps were composed of white marble.

From thence we proceeded upon the city walls towards *Mának Burj,* said to be the place where the foundation-stone of the city was laid. The capstan-wheel here is turned by the prisoners of the gaol in drawing water from the river which runs immediately below. From the position that we occupied, the Sábarmáti flowed its meandering course at our feet, where Hindus—men and women—were laving themselves, or filling their earthen jars with the limpid stream. Camels, horses, and oxen, drinking. Pontoons laid up for the season on the eastern bank. Hindu women with their backs towards the river, and a sheet drawn before them to the east, on which were provided the various earths and stains for the forehead marks of those who had performed their matinal ablutions. The wide champaign westward, in which were intermingled the Rasaldár encampment, mango topes, ruined masjíds, and a withered palm (*Borassus Flabelliformis,*) conspicuous for its very misfortune, presented an agreeable landscape.

On the way homewards we went along the city wall, and descended from the curtain of the citadel, at the back of the *Mámlatdár's Kacherí* (Native Collector's office)—originally a Muhammadan mosk. Nothing can exceed in point of elegance, harmony, or finish, the exquisite trellis screen here in two semi-circles, equi-distant from each other (the third most unfortunately has been plastered up,) and formed apparently with a view of throwing light from westward into the body of the sanctuary. The centre one in particular has a date-palm, along the trunk of which the flowing tracery most voluptuously extends, while the feathery crest of the tree surmounts the sculptured enchantment. I am given to understand that the lids of sandalwood boxes have been carved after this pattern, but none were procurable on demand—only made, or rather furnished, to order. Upon visiting the area before the masjíd (which was converted into its present use by General Goddard on taking the city,) we found the arches leading into the body of the fane had been reduced and altered in character with sufficient spare room for the introduction of a couple of mean doors—the *keblás* had been blocked, and the marble pavement removed: but the minarets—of which only moieties remain—were in excellent condition and merit attraction; they form the only pair in and without the city so neatly and elegantly finished by floriated bands. The terraced roof of the mosk affords an agreeable view of the Badhr and the country immediately adjacent: it would form an excellent retreat during the close summer nights.

CHAPTER XI.

HATISING'S Jáina Temple and country house—Visit to a Saráwak banker—Sahajánand Swámí, the Hindu Reformer—Náu-Gaz Pír—Kácha-ke-masjíd—View from the Jamálpur Darváza—Mosk and Gambaj of Rání Síprá—Anecdote in connexion with Assá-Bhíl—Dastur Khán's Masjíd—Old stories of the City; comparative character and condition of Muslím and Hindu.

27TH DECEMBER.—My long wished visit to the great Jáina Temple laid out by Hatísing, the Saráwak millionaire of Ahmedábád,—who died about two years ago,—was paid this day. There was considerable difficulty made at first to my entering the fane, but so soon as it was known that I intended taking off my shoes, and wearing in lieu a pair of the coarse woollen socks of Kábul over my cotton hose, every hindrance was removed to my walking into the edifice. The temple is built on a raised bi-cruciform foundation, with flights of steps at every cardinal point but the eastern, where the shrine of Dharmanátha is formed. The tesudo of the *mandaf* spans the centre of the temple, and rests upon a number of pillars (approximating to the Ionic); it forms what is known as the *sawá mandaf*, partaking of the Sivite school:—while the *gaffá* (sanctum) is covered with ochre-colored slabs of a hard brittle stone called marble; and a happy effort at tesselation is exhibited in the pavement. A couple of large brass bells suspended to the ceiling occupy the southern side of the apartment. In a couple of sconces in the western wall were white marble statuettes intended for the banker and his two wives; they are rudely sculptured, but the clan of the good folks cannot be mistaken, from the close imitation of the different ornaments and devices

current among Saráwaks. Hatísing's first wife became blind, shortly after marriage, from a virulent attack of the small pox. Brass-wire doors screen the altar; the marble *tírthákars* were one blaze of wealth, with the gold ornaments and the costly gems which decorated them. Without, to the right and left, are stair-ways leading to the subterranean altar, raised in a large chamber, and with the general features appertaining to these cryptic chapels. The temple itself is insular, but is surrounded by a range of *cháitias* or cells, before which runs an open varandá; and from the terraced roof spring a number of high narrow domes of the kiosk kind, fluted in longitudinal form, with fanciful representations of beasts &c. at the basement: the apex is crowned by a brass ball, while small weak staves run along to the cullis. Five large domes—higher than their surrounding fraternity—are raised above the shrine, the centre one being most conspicuous, and from which streamed a long narrow red pennant. In each of the fifty-two small recesses—placed to the rear of the colonnades—around the temple, is a marble figure or more of Parishwanátha, or other Jáina Tírthákar; and over each shrine a dome is raised. To the right of the porch advancing out of the temple is a vault of Mahadeu—the obscene lingám,—which is rather anomalous with the character of the Jáina temple: hopes are entertained by the Saráwaks towards its final removal, though enormous sums have been solicited to effect this purpose. However, this obstruction has led the foundation to be about two degrees out in its northern face than their ecclesiastical architecture renders orthodox: it is therefore not a perfect parallelogram. To palliate this evil, the Saráwaks have a pretty story abroad, that Hatísing was warned of heaven in a dream not to disturb this humble shrine! Hatísing's building is deemed by the Bhudists of Gujarát to be of the pure Jáina order.

Upon the same domains as this temple is the country-seat of Hatísing,

only completed a little before his death: they were said to have cost him £100,000. If taste and harmony and splendour in a native for Anglican display were necessary as evidence, this noble building, without its rival in the Western Presidency, is a startling proof. Its entrances, lobbies, stairways, halls, drawing-rooms, exhibit all the finish and accuracy of an European tenement.

We now proceeded to the city residence of Hemabái Vakatchand, the father-in-law of Hatísing, the leading banker of the province. By a dark narrow stairway which led to the office—we were taken a further flight of steps to the private room generally occupied by Hemábái. Our reception was cordial; and the attention I commanded, I owe to a valuable introduction. The banker, his son, and grandson, with a native attendant—were in the apartment, upon our entering it. It was carefully disposed: containing a number of China trunks, a clothes rack with several Káshmír shawls of various hues and costly texture—one of which Hemabái wears on quitting his dwelling—and, a small bedstead arranged *á la Anglais*, adapted to his stunted height. A wadded carpet, covered with a clean sheet, extended along the floor—over which were the recumbent figures of Hemabái and his family. Chairs were set for myself and acquaintance. An agreeable conversation ensued on various topics. Upon an allusion to the proposed application to Government for a Sanskrít class being formed in the Elphinstone branch-schools, Hemabái's son remarked, that—"he could produce beggars profoundly versed in this dead language, and that such a foundation would prove a waste of labour and expence without any essential good being derived." The parent entertained a different view, and expressed a determination of supporting the object of the petition, since their religious works would thus be at the perusal of every student. This subject occasioned the appearance of a small wooden case about a foot in depth and

length, and five inches in breadth, from which were revealed several manuscripts in the Páli-Bhudist character—they were said to be upwards of three hundred years old: some of the volumes were in clear and neat, if not elegant, forms. The whole of them were deemed to be extremely valuable. The wooden case was liberally supplied with *mag'd* or caggar-wood for its anti-entomological tendency.

We left this opulent family with mingled courtesy and esteem.

28*th December*.—Amid the solemn stillness arising from ignorance and bigotry, which had prevailed without interruption for centuries among the followers of Bramá, sprang an extraordinary individual from the most important branch of their own classification—whom nature conspired to endow with a cheerful exterior, and a heart equally enterprizing and bold—which disasters could not bruise nor prosperity cloy; while circumstances had made him by birth a Brámín of the Saravaría caste, and fortune had provided him through his parentage against pecuniary annoyances—to whose ability and energy the Hindu world is indebted for the first violent shock at the mimicry which characterize its doctrines and their observance.

Sahajanand Swami—the *Swámí Naráyen*, or Hindu reformer, of Bishop Heber's graphic pen—was born about the year 1780 at Chapái in the perganá of Bamní, about sixty kos to the north-east and in the territory of Lacknáu. From infancy he displayed a studious inclination and profound reverence for the faith of his forefathers, engendered in the latter case by a remarkable shrine at Makorá, situated about four kos to the north-west of his birth-place. A natural aptitude for learning soon led young Sahajánand to form an intimate acquaintance with the Shástars; while the morality which imbued his breast, prompted him to regard with disgust the anomalous character of his priesthood—whose lives were at variance with the precepts they inculcated. Perhaps this was the first step to that asceticism

which marked his after deportment; to evince in himself those principles of rectitude which philanthropy rendered desirous to extend to his fellow-kind. So early as the year 1800, he is found to have quitted his paternal home and to visit the village of Lohoj in the Panchál Des within the jurisdiction of the Jáunagar Nawáb, where he placed himself under the protection of Ramánand Swámí, the high *guru* of the place—a man of exemplary life and of exalted Bramínical piety. Circumstances prompted this holy preceptor of Sahajánand to visit Ahmedábád, where he put up in a temple (*Ragunáth Swámí Mandír*) opposite the Haveli-ke-pol, and hither the pupil followed some time in 1804. It is at this period that Swámí commenced his extraordinary influence upon the multitude, brought about by the practice of mesmerism, or a species of trance very similar, and for which numbers flocked to him to perform what was deemed a solemn and efficacious means of adoration to their tutelar divinities, undisturbed by the annoyances of life. The nature of Sahajánand's avocations, and the singularity of his tenets, soon attracted the notice and ire of priestcrafty, who spurred the bitter passions of men in power to work against Sahajánand. Among these influential individuals was Báwá Lolangar (of the *Iron Waist-Belt,*) a favourite at the Maharáta Court; who came into Ahmedábád with a band of his adherents from the Mandír of Gomtípur, and commenced persecuting the young Reformer. He was in consequence obliged to fly the city with the myrmidons of his antagonist at his heels showering stones and filth, while violent imprecations were not suppressed in this opportunity of destroying the rising popularity of Sahajánand. He sought refuge at Jetalpur, six kos to the south of Ahmedábád and a *jágír* village of Govíndráu Gáikawád, independent of the ruling authorities of the city: where, after a little time, when the effects of the ferment created were supposed to be forgotten, he invited all the Brámins of the surrounding country to the performance on a stated day

of the *Mahárudra* or great sacrifice to Mahádeu. Upon this intelligence coming to the ears of the Maharáta Sarkár, he instituted enquiries respecting Sahajánand of the officers around him, and it is said made use of even obnoxious remarks: while instructions were conveyed to Vítalráu Bábájí, the Díwán of the place on the part of the Gáikawád in the Peshwá's share of territory. A party of horsemen were in consequence dispatched to Jetalpur, who brought up the Reformer; which resulted in his being cast into a dungeon. But the nature of Sahajánand's life, the solicitation of his followers, and the superstitious alarms of Vítalráu in exasperating the ire of the gods, by incarcerating one of their ministers, afforded a speedy release to the captive. The tyrannical procedure however had gone a sufficient length to awaken the sympathy of the multitude, and to impart a happy stimulus to Sahajánand's success: he was followed by the tears and prayers of those who were the disciples of his tenets, who admired his blameless life, and who considered the sanctity of religion violated in the imprisonment of her attendant:—they chaunted in hymns his virtues and his sufferings, while groans and curses were loudly inveighed upon the heads of his persecutors. Jetalpur was soon the scene of religious enthusiasm: thousands flocked to witness, while hundreds participated in the Mahárudra; the solemnity of the sacrifice being enhanced, it was deemed, by the propitious presence of the martyr. The numerical strength of the Reformer's proselytes now increased in the ratio of thousands, and policy dictated his removal to Wartál in the Charotar—lying between Kaira and the mouth of the Mihí,—where a little before his death a temple was built to his guardian deity, Lakshamí Naráyen. No longer influenced by those dreads which had hitherto intercepted his career, he commenced his crusade against the Walab Kul, better known as the Gosijí Maharáj. He boldly denounced the irregularities they had introduced into their forms of worship, and ex-

posed the vices which characterized the lives of their clergy, nor were such opportunities lost in assiduously spreading his own system of faith,—which Bishop Heber denominates from the result of his conference at Naríad as "a strange mixture of a pure theism and Hinduism," but which the *Shík shá patrí* will shew as not many removes from an eccentric asceticism. Determined upon a life of celibacy and the good of his fellow-creatures, Sahajánand cultivated the acquaintance of the learned; and as his doctrines were found to breathe, by their own interpretation, "a sound and discreet morality," men of considerable attainments joined his cause and associated themselves in his laudable endeavours. Among these must not be forgotten the name of Bramánand, one of the early coadjutors and the bosom friend of the Reformer: he was a Hindu-classic scholar of no ordinary ability, of singularly mild deportment, and a benevolence of disposition and character rarely met; he was a poet too—and his songs and allegories are still recited with enthusiasm, and to the admiration of all those who can appreciate their merit, while the cadence to which they are employed is exceedingly harmonious; death prematurely closed the promise of a brilliant career and one of some value to the cause of Swámí Naráyen—his name is still mentioned with affection, if not reverence.

But, the genius of Sahajánand Swámí was not confined simply to the rigid re-establishment of Hindu worship in virgin integrity—it was also directed against the irregularities of the age, and to the recovery of thousands of those unfortunate men to be found throughout Gujarát, whose means of subsistence hitherto were equally lawless and precarious: of his success in this latter respect there is abundant testimony, from the vast hordes who have been reclaimed to honest and industrious pursuits—while the present undisturbed state of the country compared to its condition previously, will speak volumes for him, who, at least in this respect, justly earns the appel-

lation of *reformer*; apart from those reasons which may be urged of the presence of an equitable British administration and the existence of a moral dread effecting much in this way. The wide latitude, too, which his doctrines comprise, permitting men of all classes to become their followers, so long as they are faithfully observed—has materially tended towards Kolís, Kátís, Grásias, Rájputs, and a vast variety of castes and classes of men, to rally under his banner.

In the midst of these philanthrophic exertions, while his very name was the guerdon of worth in the length and breadth of the province—surrounded by his friends, his family and his followers—and supported by the learned of those who were his constant companions, he digested and published his Code of Instructions.* Sahajánand's subsequent life was one undisturbed pursuit in the furtherance of his cause; occasionally travelling through different parts of the country where any large collection of his disciples resided, to instruct, and exhort, and support by his personal presence. It was in one of these pontifical tours or visitations, that the fever arrested his progress at Gadará in Katíwár, and a few days illness, which was not at the time considered so dangerous, terminated in death on the tenth of Jat-wad, Sawant 1886, corresponding with the twenty-eighth of October 1829, the career of the most remarkable Hindu of the present century. His early years may have been beset by boisterous elements, but riper age fulfilled the promise of childhood; and as the announcement of his death was winged, one wail—loud, piercing, and bitter—rang throughout Gujarát upon the signal calamity which was believed to have befallen the country.

It has been urged, and justly, that the presence of British adminis-

* At Ahmode still lives Dínanáth Bhat, a learned Brámín employed by Sahajánand, and to whom the compilation of the *Shik Shrá patrí* is mainly attributed. Though attached to Sahajánand, he did not estrange himself from his paternal faith with all its obliquities.

tration accelerated the views of Sahajánand—which under either the Muslim or Maharáta regime would have perished in embryo: while the assistance of the local literati who collected around him, largely contributed to the furtherance of his object. The superstitious fears of the multitude, which gladly availed of some intermediate agency between their iniquities and the awful divinity conjured by their jaundiced minds, gave an additional impetus to Sahajánand's success. Scattering the most important of his followers throughout the country, to whom he occasionally addressed encyclical communications which were publicly read by his deputies—presented an air of importance to his measures, which gratified the vanity and supported the pretensions of noviciates; and in lending himself in this form to the caprice of a cunning race most susceptible to flattery, he essentially promoted his design. Nor must it be forgotten that the notice of the high intelligence and position of British Civil functionaries who thus lent their aid to Sahajánand's philanthrophic mission, did not serve in some degree to ensure him the respect of all classes of the Hindu fraternity. But, no sooner had the master-spirit fled—the genius who controlled and directed the machinery he had framed,—than innovations were introduced: partly from gratitude, partly from ostentation—but chiefly it is assumed to afford a stability to the Swámi Naráyen creed. The biography of its author was compiled and circulated within a brief period succeeding his demise, ascribing to Sahajánand miraculous feats, prophetic inspiration, and an immediate intercourse with the awful conclave of their heaven: and it may not be unjustly premised that another generation, in tendering divine honors, will afford him a niche within the shrine of his tutelar deity—SRI KRISHNA BAGWAN, *the Apollo of the Hindu Mythology.**

* The foregoing portion of this day's journal in its crude form was transmitted *more than eighteen months ago* to (Mr. T. J. A. SCOTT) the Editor of the *Telegraph and Courier*, for publication in his paper—unfortunately, it was set aside: a few weeks since, a local print—of mixed Maharáta and English—presents some of the circumstances now given, as if first known!

Brief as is the foregoing sketch, (for it aims at no higher pretension,) it communicates much that is valuable in a character who "in good report and evil report" perseveringly pushed his amiable purpose; and the only regret is, that his name should not have been more extensively known during Sahajánand's life-time. While British India, and Europe even, resounded with the exploits of RAMMOHAN ROY, exploits intellectual—wonderful, varied; or to adopt the more cogent and amiable view of Jeremy Bentham, his "intensely admired and dearly beloved collaborateur in the service of mankind:" now studying the Mosaic dispensation with a Rabbi, then plunging into the spirit of Islamism with a disciple of Abdalláh, next ascertaining Church-of-Englandism from her divines, or tracing Vedántism, from the pure sources of Hindu Pantheism*—while yet discovering the most favored creed for the morality of the mass, though no devotee at any particular altar; an humbler and a sincerer child of Brámá was prosecuting a more tangible course, perhaps in a narrower walk, but with effectual zeal, and in the presence of beneficial results. Both were assailed by calumny in their efforts, and we know not which most to admire—Rámmohan sweeping up the broad steps of the vice-regal residence of Calcutta, denouncing the Satí to Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK amid hiss, and hoot, and obloquy; or Sahajánand calmly, laboriously, determinedly—developing his mission which demanded a purer faith, and a rectitude of conduct consistent with the creed professed: Rámmohan debating reformation beside the ghastly pallet of the celebrated Roscoe, or Sahajánand cheerfully unfolding his doctrines to the not less celebrated HEBER. Both were reformers; the one an equivocal theorist whose brilliant coruscations have misled, and will continue to mislead many of his gifted countrymen—the man who died without a re-

* Almost the precise words of a clever Hindu writer in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol.. IV, on the life, character, and writings, of his countryman.

ligion, and who had previously announced this bone of contention to be the fruitful cause of dissension among many: the other a practical philanthropist, who, without like position or like wealth, has rescued hundreds from destruction, and thousands from wanton pursuits. The merits of men of this latter class are only discovered long after their generation has passed; the splendid career of the former leaves too indelible an impression—grateful to the vanity of our race—to be erased so speedily: and while Rámmohan's name is about being forgotton, Sahajánand's will wax brighter by that waning influence. Rámmohan with his measured number of satellites of the same freethinking school—in politics, great; of religion, void; will own the thanks of many a generation for his Bengálí translation of the abridgment of the Vedánts—but among his own people, he earned execrations rather than popularity, was hated far and wide; while his own social circles would almost deify their patron—for it was in this relation he stood towards them. Sahajánand was loved beyond belief by his disciples—comprising men of talent, of station, and of wealth; the poor, the ignorant, the rude—and who would have sacrificed life itself for their preceptor: his profound acquaintance with the Veds, earned him the meed due to a man of ability, and his modesty barbed many a venomous thought with the heterodox Hindu wedded to the absurdities of his faith—and to this day he will be found to name Sahajánand with respect, whatever the differences in their observances of the like parent faith. But it is the Indian Legislator who will most prize the efforts of men of the mould of the Gujarát reformer, whose influence can eradicate evil, and pave the path to higher and better pretensions, and by gradual yet sensible approaches lead the multitude to receive and appreciate the germs of a good moral government, and thus to more important advantages. The genius of Rámmohan Roy had anticipated by a century the oppressions of his native religious administration; that

of Sahajánand Swámí had met the evil where most needed, and persuaded numbers of a province of nomadic tribes to peaceful and honorable occupations, and with the absence of any extensive educational measures upon sound principles among Hindus, their amelioration will for long be indebted, rather to practical example among their own kind, simply and lucidly conveyed, than to the most honest views at variance with their paternal creed propounded by exotic elements.

29th December.—At 7 A. M. started on horseback with a view of seeing the *Kách-ke-masjíd* and the prospect from the city-wall to the southward. On the way we passed a large number of gravestones, among which were nine that measured eighteen feet three inches in length each and erected side by side, known as the tombs of the *Náu Gaz Pír* or nine Gaz Saints or spiritual guides. A tradition is still current among the people, that if eight strings of flowers are placed over-night above these monuments, in the morning they will be found to correspond in number with the gravestones. Five of them have sunk upwards of a foot and without any accountable cause apparent or known—unless the earthquake of 1819, or villainy of marauders, can be charged with every misfortune which has attended the works of art abounding in this city. The tombs are still resorted to by fanatics of all classes, while emblems of vows made, are liberally strewn about or attached to a *Nim* tree hard by.

We obtained access into the KACH-KE-MASJID with considerable difficulty, in consequence of the porter being asleep. The lodge leading into the area merely comprises a stout lime-stuccoed arch with a heavy wooden doorway which faces Sídí Selím-ke-Havelí (in the occupation of the Collector of Continental Customs): above it, existed originally three small cupolas, each springing upon four spider pillars, apparently intended for the Muezzín-call—one of these has been destroyed. The courtyard was stack-

ed with hay, and with barely room for passage to the mosk, which we found to be denuded of the marble pavement, and the usual slab with inscription above the centre *keblá* or Imám's niche. A native Muhammadan belonging to the environs of the Masjíd upon being questioned as to the wholesale robbery pursued in this instance, remarked very naively—"that the stones being the property of God, any of his people could take them away!" The doorway leading to the Mausoleum was closed; the person in charge of the property, it was said, resided at a considerable distance, but visited the place daily between the hours of 9 in the forenoon, and 4 of the afternoon. This mosk is of recent construction and built of brick, with an external wash of mortar—though in appearance plain, it is also interesting, while the corrosive influence of the atmosphere has already commenced its sad work. The Kách-ke-masjíd is the only building of its kind or class in Ahmedábád, with domes in the Turkish style of architecture; surmounted by brass cullis terminating in a crescent.

We mounted the city wall at the Jamálpur gate: a fortnight before, on a plain to the south-east, five men had been executed at the hands of the hangman—another unfortunate creature suffered the like fate a few days following; the latter was the ringleader of a gang who had attacked two young officers travelling from Barodá to Baroch about a year ago, and the robbery was not completed before murder had ensued. The young men were merely wounded. About five hundred yards from the gate is the mound known as the Shahái Bíkan, from whence General GODDARD opened his attack upon the city. To the S. S. E. appeared above the forest world, the minars of Shahái Alam's masjíd, and a mosk in ruins intercepted the prospect mid-way. One wide plain presented itself to the eye, as it wandered over the country immediately before us; and there was nothing to diversify the nature of the scenery until we got to the Astoría Darváza, when several houses and a busy hamlet broke the sameness of the picture.

Descending from the wall, we proceeded a stone's throw from the gateway to the masjíd of RANI SIPRA, one of the wives of Sultán Ahmed, the founder of Ahmedábád—built in the year of the Hijira 835. It is in charge of the Kádhí of Dolká, who has farmed (so it was said) the gambaj and grounds to a Vánía of the city, for storing various articles. An old Multání, a native of Ushnágar near Pesháwar, had made the mosk his abode, and his *chárpái* and *chulá*, his clothing and crockery, graced the walls, and the rifled marble pavement. He had been disturbed by us in the perusal of a small Arabic manuscript which lay upon his bedstead, and on enquiry we ascertained that it treated of Pharmaceutics: he was a communicative, though a filthy old man, and the mosk had been his dwelling-place for the last twenty years. *Ráni Síprá-ke-masjíd* is an open hall on the eastern side, from either extremity of which springs a spider mínár to the height of fifty feet. The extreme length of the mosk, including the towers, is fifty-four feet; and its breadth twenty feet, exclusive of them: two rows of six double pillars running transversely, occupy the floor and support the roof. The Mausoleum stands immediately before the mosk, and was filled with grass; the entrance into it was locked. I am inclined to be of opinion, in which I believe I am not singular, that the Masjíd and Rozá of Ráni Síprá are the handsomest in the city; even the buttresses of the mosk are tastefully executed:—there is an agreeable repose in the keeping of these structures, which is unmistakeable.

The western wicket brought before as *Assa B'hil*,—the present site of the ruins of a Muhammadan fane, with a vaulted tanká attached, which is still used—the original Yessa-val of FERISHTA, to the air and situation of which, according to the Persian historian, this city is indebted for its foundation to the renowned Ahmed Shahái the First.* The legend runs—that

* Vide BRIGGS' *Rise and Fall of the Mahammadan Power in India*;—also BIRD'S *History of Gujarát*.

this spot was the residence of a Bhíl chieftain, with whose beautiful daughter the Muslím monarch became enamoured; his earnest solicitations led her to become a proselyte to his passionate vows, and subsequently to his faith, which terminated in the scene of their amours being converted into that proud city which bears the Hero-lover's name. Assá B'híl still forms one of the *moláhs* or wards of the city.

About fifty yards beyond Assa Bhíl is *Dastur Khán's masjíd,* commanding an area of nearly seventy-five feet square and an open quadrangle with covered aisles: one of the latter was occupied at the time by weavers for drawing various colored silk fibres; they pay eight rupees annually for this purpose. In the centre of the area, three modest marble tombs adjoin a small square raised wall by which water is raised from the reservoir below, corresponding in dimensions with the courtyard. A couple of Kandaháris were cooking their victuals in the northern aisle, and appeared indignant at our interruption. The upper portion of the walls of the aisles, excepting the western wing, was of open trellis-work in sandstone.

30*th December.*—All the histories we own of this celebrated city are of modern manipulation;—since its conquest by Akber. FERISHTA'S description is as glowing as a Persian could render it. ABUL FAZEL is more discreet in style; but in matter, the *Ayín Akberí* is as unintelligible—the city originally comprised 360 *puras* (wards,) of which only eighty-four existed in the General's time. THEVENOT, writing in the seventeenth century, makes the suburbs extend seven leagues: historical legend declares twenty-seven miles. Oral tradition affirms that under the dynasty of Ahmed Shahái the larger half of the city lay on the opposite side of the river —at present the site of stray ruins, and of no single inhabited tenement. BALDEUS remarks in 1672—taking the date of the publication of his work—"Under the jurisdiction of Amadabath are twenty-five considerable towns,

and two thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight villages:" but the pictorial sketch supplied by his volume does not present the appearance of a greater or more magnificent city. HAMILTON, towards the close of the same century, says—"The revenue of Amadabant is generally reckoned ten times as much as Surát." From the year of its foundation to the present time, Ahmedábád ever has been, and continues, an important city. Some of its streets may have been so wide as to permit ten carriages abreast: but the vehicles of the lordly of Hindusthán, where of native manufacture, are never so wide as three feet between the boxes of the axles; to adopt an European idea, for the native artisans are ignorant of these polished additions. Hence, if the streets were not quite so wide as European intelligence would deem, some of them at least were paved: of this there was practical illustration this morning in digging in the Mának Chok, where the crowbars told upon the original foundation after a depth of four feet, along which are raised the great mercantile resorts of the city. In those times, too, of Muslim supremacy, the *faithful* (the followers of the Arabian prophet) only were permitted to reside within the walls of the city, Hindus of every complexion of creed being excluded; and so stringent was the line of conduct pursued towards them, that we ascertain from a local chronicle—"no Hindu was allowed to ride on horseback through the city; and those on foot were not allowed to wear clothing, unless distinguished by a red patch of cloth sewed on the shoulder"—previously denominated as "a specific mark on the right arm." This treatment led the Jáinas and followers of Bramá to resort to the country; and *ergo*, we can understand the ruins to be met to the east, west, and north of the city—the sites of former towns, bazars, and hamlets. How things have altered we shall presently see. But the conquering, the clement Akber came, and with him appeared the intellectual genii that he had collected around his person: they scanned and

wrote; and from their time we are enabled to glean with succinct accuracy Muhammadan history in the East: they not only wrote of the age in which they lived, but of centuries preceding them from the materials they obtained,—and their labors still delight and instruct our race. Akber however did more—he ordered a revenue survey, particulars of which are preserved in the *Mirat Ahmedi:* it was commenced in his administration A. H. 984 (of A. D. 1576) by Rájá Todar Mál and during the lord-lieutenancy of Khán Azím Mírzá Azíz Kokaltásh; it was revised and completed some twenty years afterwards by Nawáb Shábudín Khán.

What vital changes have occurred since then! However oppressive the government of Shahái Ahmed, and subsequently of the Mogli delegates of Agra and of Delhi, they could not eradicate the Híndu passion for lucre, come as it may. The Muhammadan, again, has ever been a lover of pleasure: the excitement of the hunter and the warrior—the gaieties of the camp and the court—the voluptuousness of the seraglio, and the mirth attendant upon revelry—have associated themselves in his breast as the charms of life. The decline and fall of the Mogul empire is owing to a want of knowledge of the art of retaining as well what it understood so boldly and determinedly to win. There have been princes equally diplomatic and astute to appreciate the foundation of their rule and to define the limits of their empire, but these are exceptions merely to the general character; and long before another century, there will be an utter extinction of the present qualities inherent to the descendants of the Mogli. With the decay of Muhammadan power, the artful Híndu ingratiated himself into the families of the wealthy and powerful; and by his insidious designs, like a vampire he drained the strength of his victim. As the factotum, the usurer, the adviser in pecuniary matters, he drew the wealth of his Muhammadan patron, and upon the ruin of the latter the former flourished:

and thus at the present moment, the Muslím of Ahmedábád are in obscurity and poverty, while Hindus revel in opulence. Upon the occupation of Ahmedábád by the British in a civil capacity, the proportion of Muhammadans to Hindus was given in the ratio of one to seven in a population of eighty thousand; just now it is as one to twelve in a recent census of one hundred thousand. The last relics to which cleaved the Muslím pride—were their libraries: whether the talent was unpossessed to peruse the volumes which were shelved, or adversity cowered over their financial strength, or moths consumed the pages over which had breathed—had hung with mingled admiration and intense thought—their ancestors; they were still retained with maniac avidity. The direst distress alone prompted the sale of these cherished prizes; when valuable manuscripts—some magnificently illuminated, and all exquisitely uncial—were sold by the venial Hindu *for a few annas the volume*. Such has been the fate of literature in this land! The Pádshahái Díván—an hereditary pensioner of the Maharáta and British Governments—is the only Muhammadan now in Ahmedábád who possesses any valuable property of the kind. He was one of his forefathers who wrote the Mirat Ahmadi, or *Mirror of Ahmed*, and from which some years ago Dr. James Bird (of the Bombay Medical Service) gleaned much important information, which upon translation he had published. The library however, by all accounts, is mostly worm-eaten. There are a few other such, but not of equal importance, in the country; and in the possession of parties averse to disposing of any of the volumes: these families are not in the most affluent circumstances, and with approaching indigence, the Oriental scholar will have the advantage of commanding some rich manuscripts at almost indifferent prices.

CHAPTER XII.

THE '*Samad Síkrá*,' a Jáina shrine—Jáina temple and subterranean refuge—A sentry worsted—Masjíd of Mahafíz Khán—Marble employed in Ahmedábád buildings and their quarries—Kankryá Talán and Nagína Bhág—Dutch tombs—Bíbí Uchut Kukí's mosk—Paper manufactory—Consecration of Christ-Church—Protestant and Roman Cemeteries—Pársís.

31*st December*.—After considerable delay and difficulty I succeeded this afternoon, through the assistance of a very kind acquaintance, in getting the entrances opened to the SAMAD SIKRA (vulgace, *Samar Chakar*, or 'the thousand pinnacled') and a subterranean Jáina temple in *Javerí wádá*, the jewellers' ward. The former is in *Mándví ke pol*, whither we first proceeded. In a street not over-wide nor particularly redolent with sweet perfumes, our passage was arrested before a large, heavy, wooden doorway, and which, though old, betrayed that it had never borne the impression of paint, polish, nor varnish. Upon our arrival being announced, the portal leaves swung back to us with a sad, sharp creaking, and then a small and almost square court-yard occupied by three distinct habitations of considerable height, if not proportionate breadth, presented themselves to notice. We were desired to walk some ten or twelve yards to the right, and towards a flight of stone steps which protruded from one of these distinct buildings: I could then well understand the remark of Colonel MILES, of having this Samar Chakar 'in the house of Anandjí Lálchand, a *sarraf* or banker,' whereas the represented tirtha, though within the compass of the native's grounds, is literally separate; and, if the family temple—it is also free (*commune bonum*) to the devotional exercises of all Saráwaks of the like *gacha*. The Samad Síkrá

is a huge wooden frame-work intended to depict a particular mountain, consecrated to Jáina superstition, in the Hímaláiá range,—every prominent spur being provided with a small shrine, and a number of wooden puppets introduced in each for its choir; while the summit is crowned by a more spacious fane with a liberal supply of harmonious characters in the possession of tambours, cymbals, and other musical instruments in vogue with the Híndus. By means of concealed mechanism, the figures make a rotatory circuit of the different temples they occupy; using their various supple limbs with a rapidity of action quite as entertaining as the vociferous nature of the intended melody. Pálkís, elephants, serpents, &c., have been industriously introduced in every desirable position; and the western wall of each shrine is furnished with a brass figure of the sun, which rolls its course with mimic efficacy: the same peculiarity attends a larger representation of Sol immediately before the great toy. A brass wire railing protects it from impious approaches; while a silken canopy hangs over the sacred enclosure. A small compartment formed in a portion of the eastern wall, receives an arranged collection of sizes of marble and brass images of Parishwanatha, and which had been very freshly decorated with garlands of the Indian jessamine—a cruse of *ghí* was burning before the most prominent Jíneswár. The floor of this temple was paved with marble in every grotesque form, with some attempts at Chinese designs; and the roof was made of alternate lines of lime-stucco and tiles,—a style not deemed unusual in this quarter; but singular enough—the points of the square ventilator were adorned with clay figures of elephants, a couple of feet in height.

There are a number of Jáina temples with subterranean shrines in the Javerí-wádá;* the one I visited was the property of the most influential

* In several *Mahalls* of this city (Ahmadábád) are subterranean temples, excavated with great labour, and a great expense. * * They contain many large images, particularly that in the Jóhériwára.' *On the Jáinas* of *Gujarát* and *Márwár*. By Lieutenant-Colonel MILES. *Transactions R. A. Society*. Vol. III.

Saráwak in Ahmedábád—my acquaintance, Hemabái Vakatchand. Along the outer walls of some of these buildings might be noticed figures in relievi of elephants—furnished with half a dozen other, to the natural proboscis; they are neatly wrought of black slate, or of calcined white marble, and possess a high lustre. The exterior appearance of the temple I entered, possessed along its wood-work a host of colored characters not wanting in variety of posture or gorgeous display. We stepped upon marble pavement in the very vestibule;*—which introduced us into a spacious hall: the floor here was tesselated after a local mosaic and of the different hued marble to be found in the vicinity of the province. Remarkable cleanliness, neatness and order characterized this apartment. The northern wall was occupied by an altar with three figures of Parishwanátha, decked with costly gems; while a compartment immediately to the rear of it had four and twenty crypts, in each of which was more than a single image of the favorite Tírthakar of the Jáinas. In the centre of the hall were three gratings for the introduction of light into the vault, and a few pigmy figures may be observed in the corbals around. A high ventilator with stained-glass pannel-doors are midway in the roof, and a capacious reflector in a gilt frame occupied its ceiling. A number of globe-lamps were suspended about the apartment—indeed, the appearance of the room was not unlike that of a Chinese tradesman in the vicinity of the European factories of Canton. A stone stairway against the eastern wall led us into the vault-fane, which was certainly one of fair dimensions; but the dank odour of the place rendered it intolerable for any very protracted stay. The concave of the dome-ceiling here was covered with colored representations after the general native manner; and the walls facing east and west had each three corresponding corbels with occupants of a couple of feet in height: the great altar had a couple of

* The *Sowá munduff*—square in this instance.

pillars in advance to form three brass-wire door-ways towards securing the shrine from profanation, and I would presume with as much interest in not testing the cupidity of the poorer classes of dévotees. In this compartment were three colossal representations of Parishwanátha, the centre one the most conspicuous; in its recumbent position fully seven feet high, and the brow adorned with a high golden diadem after the Egyptian school. The plinth (or, to adopt a more appropriate, though a Chaucerian, expression—the *corbettis*) was twelve feet in length, and the whole of this sculpture is formed out of a single block of marble of virgin white: the cost was estimated at thirty thousand rupees. There is a want of expression in the features, and insipidity in the entire execution; but as a piece of modern workmanship, and the promise of extensive improvement upon the present resources of the Hindu Silpi, the shrine will amply repay a visit. It would be ungenerous not to notice, that on this occasion we were not required to unshoe ourselves—and if Saráwaks were, hereafter, merely to solicit of Europeans the more appropriate token of respect current among themselves, of uncovering the head, a good deal of that annoyance which has hitherto prevented their entering the temples of Jáina worship would be obviated.

1*st January*, 1848.—My sedentary occupation had kept me beyond midnight in the perusal of some important papers. I was suddenly aroused by the sonorous challenge of the sentry at the Jail-door to a passer by.

Who comes d'har—r—r? roared the son of Mars.

Char—r—r—r!—was the reply.

Therá nák me murgá ka pur—r—r!

Adhí ídhar—r—r; ádhí udhar—r—r!

Continued the wicked wag, playing upon the musical termination of the words. *Náik, náik*—vociferated the unfortunate sepoy, and the guard turned out; but the darkness of night had lent its aid to the flight of the

punster—leaving the cajoled sentry to the wretchedness of his position and the jeers of his comrades. For a considerable time afterwards I could scarcely command my risible faculties at the farce which had been perpetrated—and had hitherto believed that a native did not possess such assurance as to trifle with a military sípáhí upon duty: but I had heard the whole affair. A Muhammadan scamp was charged with the obnoxious proceeding!

Late this morning visited the Másjid of *Mahafiz Khán*, a little distance to the East of the Protestant Church, and situated in the purá of Burhán-ul-mulk, commonly known as the Idar-ke-chaklá. The mosk was built by Vazír Jamál-u-dín bin Sheik bín Muín-u-dín Sharashí (descendant of the Prophet), bearing the denomination at Court of Mahafiz Khán, or Protector,* in the reign of Mahammud Bígadá on the fourteenth of Rajub A. H. 870. Entrance is effected into it by a mean doorway in a wall running southerly and in a line with the eastern front of the building; over which, parallel with either lintel of the door, are small slabs with inscriptions of poetical distiches in Persian. The courtyard is paved with sand-stone; the *coup d'œil* of the mosk from before it was truly magnificent: the style of architecture is equally elegant and elaborate, and it is the only másjíd in the city which has resisted the effects of time, or has been spared spoliation. A few days ago I saw a wooden model made for M. A. Kinlock Forbes, of the Civil Service, and the Assistant Judge of the station; I was told it cost upwards of four hundred rupees: it was exquisitely wrought of teak, and true to the original. This mosk has the least perceptible traces of the work having been formed upon Hindu remains; but rather the production of the Indian Silpi, under its taskmaster—the Mogli Government. The Rozá adjoining is not in keeping with the principal work. The court yard is the

* The *Secundarí Tarikh* makes mention of Jer-jur Chírí-már, who was knighted by Sultán Mahammud as Mahafíz Khán; but whether it is the same individual, or any of the same family, continues matter of speculation.

only one in Ahmedábad in which I noticed such a vast number of tomb-stones. To Dyabhái, an opulent young Saráwak, living within the vicinity of the masjíd, I was indebted for a ladder and other assistance to enable the inscription over the centre keblá being traced.

3*d January*.—Ahmedábád, remarkable for its superb mosks* and mausolea, may be characterized at the present time as the *City of Ruins*, though long bearing the sobriquet of the *City of Tombs*. The wantonness of spoliation peculiar to the burning fierceness of Islamism, would not operate upon its own creation—the corrosive influence of climate, which takes a north-westerly track, has given more fearful proofs of devastation—the Maharátas in their conquests were not particularly scrupulous with the edifices of the country falling into their power—and, of late years, while the curiosity or scientific affection of the European has carefully preserved and borne away valuable inscriptions, fanciful decorations, and other interesting sculpture,—the physical indolence of the present generation of Muhammadans, quite as much as the intellectual apathy which prevents any notice to other than selfish or personal objects of attention, have assiduously tended to the very Hindus bearing away large masses of elegantly wrought architecture; calcining splendid slabs of the white marble, which furnishes a brilliant mortar;† and transposing other and smaller varieties of such into grind-stones, for which they have been found well adapted. Lord Valentia (I believe) first noticed the singularity attending architectural remains in

* Abul Fazel, writing in the time of his imperial patron, states of Ahmedábád that there "are a thousand mosques, each having two large minarets, and many wonderful inscriptions." Vide Gladwin's *Translation* of the Ayin Akberi.

† Such also has been the fate of sculpture in the Western world. While at Athens, and witness to the destruction of the architectural remains of Greece, in alluding particularly to the desecration of the Temple of Adrian and the injury done its columns, the Abbé de Lille writes at the close of the last century—'*I asked who it was who had mutilated them, for it was easy to see that it was not the effect of time. I was told that they had been broken down for making mortar. I wept with very rage.*'

Hindusthán: the rapid tendency to decay to the north, while the southern sculpture continues unexcoriated by the lapse of ages. The atmospheric influence remains unaccountable, but the form in which it operates has been clearly traced. A little above ground, between two and three feet, the corrosion commences—continues about seven or eight feet high; the subtle agent acting severest midway; and its influence is then lost. Where burnt brick has been employed, the phenomenon is painfully apparent—the different tiles are so insidiously separated, while the lime is wholly worked out, that the bricks appear suspended above each other.* For miles around Ahmedábád, sarcophagi of every variety, from the castellated mausoleum and delicate cupola to the humble grave-stone, will attract the traveller: nor are the confines of the city walls free from the host of such remembrances through every street, alley, or winding.

The foundation of the magnificent masjíds of Ahmedábád has been justly attributed to the remains of those vast Hindu fanes which in the earlier ages were singularly confined to the kingdom of the Balharás: the style of these is isolated—of that school from which the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, present the most finished forms, and each an equally independant system of architecture. The most apparent plagiarism—even to a casual observer—in the Ahmedábád mosks, is in the domes, which closely resemble in superficies similar decorations in the Jáina temples of Abu, but these were adopted as mere ornament by Musalmáns, who have indeed copied

* The following remark is made by a writer of some importance—"All these regions abound in saline ingredients, which corrode and in time undermine all brick walls. * * In fact, from the process visible in all cities whose edifices are walls of brick, it would be very possible to deduce the age of their erection. The city and walls of Agra afford an example in point, for though little more than two centuries old, not a single wall has its foundation perfect, each presenting near its level with the ground to the strength of the ingredient, a cancerous crumbling line, shewing that nature, as the Hindu would say, is often at war with art." Colonel Tod's *Travels in Western India*. I have heard conflicting and able opinions expressed upon this subject.

many other parts with equally bad taste. That the Jáinas have been imitated is evident—not only in the patched appearance of the Gujarát masjíds &c., but because the Abu temples (the only Hindu architecture which escaped the ruthless iconoclast) were constructed before Muhammadans entered the country upon their spiritual forays—as they were designated. The various capitals and entire embellishment of the pillars of Hindu fanes have been bodily introduced into the mosks, while the chisel has artfully effaced the figures which graced the agreeable recesses given them by the Indian Silpi. Most of the minarets have "the *Vira-gantha* or war-bell, the most ancient and general decoration of the columnar architecture of the Jains, suspended by a chain between each festoon."* On the very stone pavement of several masjíds may be deciphered Sanskrit characters, which in every instance amounted to *Ráma* or *Shama;* and in others—Pálí-Bhudistical figures.

The same peculiarities are detected in the buildings at Dholká, Cambay, Baroch, Dhubái, and Memudábád—wherever Islamite zeal took its political sanctuary. If the window of Minerva Polias is the sole rule to our architects of the Grecian style for such: here of abundant relics, the Muslim has bequeathed one simple, defined, and beautiful description, with its projecting and paved sill, the lintels richly decorated, and the whole crowned by a canopy gorgeous in the *coup d'œil,* and elaborate upon investigation. Piece by piece as it were spring the minars, ribboned or festooned, and at gradual stages the series of muezzín loops perspectively formed; in rare instances—the whole aperture exposed, in many—exquisitely trellised, and the structure terminates at a height more in compliance with the

* Tod's *Travels in Western India.* The Colonel however, immediately after, adds—"which would merely prove that the Islamites, in founding the new city of Ahmed from the ruins of Chandravati and Anhulwara, took from these cities whatever materials suited their purpose."

architect's fancy, or the founder's caprice, than by any regulated system. A similar remark would be applicable to the various and singular arches, skeleton or otherwise, to be found at the entrance of some of the masjíds; while the frieze employed will admit every species of design. The archæologist may perhaps evolve a resemblance in the fillets and general appearance of these entrances to the door-ways of the early Anglo-Norman style, shewn in the remains of suburban chapels &c. Some of the arches droop curtain-like from the ceiling in gorgeous and pierced masonry, while capricious but elegant points suspend themselves like stalactites—to the admiration and dread of the nervous spirit. The façades of several mosks are festoon-cinctured, not unlike the chapter of the columns of the temple of Jupiter Stator at Rome: and the fret work of the ceilings recall Genoese magnificence and the splendour of Italian palaces. If in Muslím architecture there is not the same faultless tendency to geometrical proportions maintained by the Grecian school—which so studiously ascertained light and shade, and mathematical consistency with the developement of the beautiful,—occasionally, at least, there is a severe adherence to the relative distance of the intercolumniations with the diamater, so as to produce those masses of shadow so engaging to the Oriental taste. I have heard of an old Medico and an antiquarian—Cruso, by name, who was stationed for many years at Baroch; that he would beguile hours away sitting by one of these masjíds, mentally analysing its collected beauties. The spirit which characterized the French lady, who could not read her prayers unless the volume was handsomely bound, was doubtless the spirit of the early Muhammadans—they too could not pray but in temples worthy of the deity of their worship. Had everything due the happiness of man equally met their regard, where would this harmony of the good and the beautiful have terminated? The visit to the Jumá Masjíd of Cambay had raked all old

remembrances from Murphy's sketches of the Arabian-Spanish remains; when so powerfully brought to application by practical survey. By what innate association did the Muslim scatter these architectural treasures, simultaneously almost, at two such extremes? The method pursued even in the inscriptions so precisely alike: the same basso relievi in point of style, the like bold, free, unique characters; the points so exquisitely turned and finished. The tesselated pavement, the spider pillar, the antique keblâ,—how striking the similarity; and, as if by a kaleidoscopic fiction, the classic scholar had transported the materials of his fairy-dream from Andalusia to Gujaráshtra! If it be contended that generalities only confuse, instead of enlightening a theme—attempt here at least the minutiæ which can only distract with the magnitude and diversity of its appliances. Here is the land for the poet's conjurations, and the painter's canvas: here too, should the youthful student linger awhile, and draw from such resources that contemplation which should leave him a wiser, if not a better, man. And, if the moon-light of a cerulean firmament can exhibit beauties which day-light beams perhaps offend,—here too, undisturbed and unknown, the stranger may pause, and anatomize distinctive features, under the solitude of heaven and the silence of night.

The first Historical account that we command of the Muhammadan crusade (as it is called by the author) against the Hindu faith in Gujarát, and the wholesale destruction of its fanes, is furnished by the *Mirát Ahmedí*—which remarks that Mahmud of Ghízní in his eighth expedition destroyed the temples at Mathurá, and in 408 A. H.* corresponding with 1018

* "The troops next advanced against Motra or Mathurá, not far distant, and then the most venerated place of Hindu worship. Here the people of Ghazní were so struck by the magnificence of the buildings that, says my authority, no words can express it. The palaces and other buildings, which were many, are described as being built of stone and white marble: and such was the feeling of wonder excited in the mind of Máhmúd, that while writing to the nobles of Ghazní, he said—'Should any one propose to build

of the Christian æra: the work of destruction continued for six and twenty days. It must not, however, be supposed that this was the first connexion of Muslím with Gujarát; an Arabian traveller named MASUDI, who visited Anhalwárá nearly a century before Máhmud's depredatory excursions, mentions the toleration of the Hindu monarchs, and the existence of masjíds—"The Moosalmans"—to adopt his words from a translation—"were much respected; and they had mosques in the city, in which prayers were read five times a day." Nor is it to be credited that Jáina enthusiasm expired with the spoliation witnessed around them, for Anhalwárá flourished again in primeval splendour to the astonishment of EL-EDRISI, another Arabian, who passed through the city about the twelfth century. To be more precise, that the Jáinas did not cease their architectural labors with the wantonness practiced upon them—one instance of many is the temple of Rudra Málá at Sídpur, built by Síd Ráj Jesíng in Sawant 1202, equivalent to A. D. 1146;* and doubtless later still, the clemency of Akber and other liberal despots must have tended to the restoration of many fanes were the Hindus not ground down by the delegates of sovereignty with the smallest pretension to affluence.

The general wonder is lost in the enormous expence which must have attended the carriage of the marble and stones employed in these erections. The fine white marble, at present liberally used by Jáinas for their favourite

such a town, he could not do so in two and twenty years, with the assistance of the most skilful architect, and after expending millions of dinárs.' But bigotry stifled in the breast of Mahmud every noble feeling; and though the art of the architect could raise his admiration, it could not make him generous to stay the work of destruction. The solidity of the temples alone resisted his efforts: the idols were broken down: jewels were carried away of immense value; and everything combustible was given to the flames. Twenty-six days were thus spent." *Vide* BIRD'S *History of Gujarát.*

* Destroyed by the first King of Ahmedábád in the month of Jumádí-al-ával A. H. 818, or between the Christian years 1415-16.

Jíneswár, is brought from Makrán, situated about twenty kos to the north of Ajmír and in the territory of the Jáudpur Rájá: the sculpturing is mostly executed at Pahálanpur. The cost of quarrying is estimated at fourteen annas per *mand*, and the expence of transit from Makrán to this city ranges between seventy-five and a hundred rupees for a cart weight of forty-two *mands*, equivalent to three camel-loads. The tax levied by the Jáudpur authorities is eight annas upon every ten *mands* weight. This marble is readily worked, and receives a high lustre: streaks of black and green are sometimes perceptible, but when care is employed in quarrying slabs according to satisfaction, the marble is exquisitely clean and clear. Marble of a similar kind, but interspersed with blotches (instead of streaks) of yellow and black, is obtained from a quarry three kos to the north of Ambá Bhaváni under the government of the Dántá Rájá: this description is in no great request, and the quarry is known to the natives as *Járí wáu ka khand*. Itinerant sculptors bring valuable slabs from the ruins of the ancient city of Chandrávati (*vulgace*—Changáwatí,) now only known by a small village bearing the name, situated to the north of the Banás river, and under the jurisdiction of the Pahálanpur Díwán. These remains are strewn about the plains eight kos from Abu; and a cart-load is procurable upon payment of a couple of rupees to the Thákur of the village. The slabs are sold at Ahmedábád from a *mand* and a half to two *mands* for the rupee. Marble of an ochre hue—foliomort, perhaps, would be more expressive,—in appearance and character not unlike the Roman *Scyrium Marmor*,—bearing the denomination here of yellow marble, is brought from a quarry hard by the town of Jesalmír, on the east border of the great desert lying between it and Sínd. Another description, and infinitely inferior, of similar material, is found about fifteen kos west of Pálitána in Katíwár. The blue marble is obtained near Jepur; while the black slate, often mistaken for marble, is

from Darangídará: it is extensively used by natives for cups, jars, and other domestic articles; it is susceptible of a very high polish. The mottled yellow stone is brought from Dakíwárá in the Aranyá of Kach, and to the west of Rádhápur: it is known as *Mi-mariam* (Mother Mary): this material is out of vogue just now with the Gujars. The chief quarries for the sand-stone—in appearance and character approximating to the Porebander material—are, Ahmednagar, forty kos to the north-east of Ahmedábád; and Darangídará in Katíwár, on the southern border of the Aranyá of Kach: the latter is preferred.

Weight in *Kachá* (half the Bengal) *mand* to a cubic *Gaj* of twenty-four inches.

Ahmednagar sand-stone	weighs 30 ½	mand.
Darangídará ditto	30	„
Dangarpura slate, called Párewá	60	„
White marble	40	„
Yellow ditto	40	„
Bamaborá stone from Gopínátha	22	„

While the ruins of Chandrávati still supply Ahmedábád with costly slabs of marble, the more adjacent and recent capital of Anhalwárá is bare of past splendour. Whatever the opinion abroad of the latter having furnished the city of Ahmed Shahái with the chief materials for its thousand masjids and their minars and mausolea; towards the close of the thirteenth century, and before the birth of the Muslím monarchy of Gujarát, the historian chronicles—that "the sanguinary Alla" (*u-dín*) "not only levelled the walls" (of Anhalwárá) "but buried the greater part of the temples in their foundations; razed the temples, and as the last token of conquest—ploughed up the ground on which they stood with the ass." Within the circumference of the ancient capital of the Jáinas, sprung the modern and

mean town of Pattan, which for a season formed the seat of the Mogli viceroys, and which the spirit of victory finally led the Gáikawád Damájí to belt with a wall, said to be formed of the last existing remains of Kalí-kote—a circumstance savouring more of romance than the least pretension to truth.*

4th January.—Muhammad Ali Khán, the author of the *Mírát Ahmedí*, in his history of the reign of Jalál Khán, entitled Katb-u-dín, the grandson of the founder of the city of Ahmedábád, mentions the royal taste for architecture, and among other works, names "the Kankriyah tank and the garden called Nuginah,"† as his productions. About half a mile from the city, and situated in a pretty country of dell and mound and forest beauty, is a lake, of about a mile in circumference, with an island in its centre, upon which may still be seen the ruins of a summer palace—tradition declares at one time to have sprung to a considerable height, its exuviæ however is now protected by some lofty and elegant tamarind trees, which lend a most romantic air to the scenery. The palmyra‡ that once flourished among them is no more. The arched bridge which spanned the shore, from the south of

* "The remnant of what is still called the palace of Sid-Raj, is in the centre of an artificial basin, but the excavation is now barely discernible. There is the ruin of a noble reservoir, from the fragments of which a new one has been constructed in modern Puttun, and of a smaller one, bearing the name of the Fountain of Ink, wherein it is related, the scholars of Hemacharya dipped their pens, to write down his dicta." Tod's *Travels in Western India.*

† Bird's *History of Gujarát.*

‡ "Among a variety of trees still standing, was a very uncommon species of the palmyra: after growing up in a straight stem to a considerable height, like others of that genus, it shot forth upwards of forty branches, with a tuft of spreading leaves at the extremity of each branch, like the common borassus flabelliformis." Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs.* Captain J. Cruikshank, Revenue Surveyor in Gujarát, briefly alludes to this, along with a few other architectural remains of Ahmedábád, in his report to the Government of Bombay, under date Broach, 30th September, 1825.

the cupolas to the garden of the island, known as the *Nagíná Bhag* (already named), is dilapidated, with wide breaches at intervals: the masonry throughout the construction is in fine—in active decay. Originally the lake was lined with hewn stone, but desecration has occurred here as well as with many another noble structure in the city. To the west, north and east of the lake spring four handsome cupolas—the offspring of the Hindu Silpi,—intended both as ornament, and shelter from the rays of Sol during the tropical heats, to the traveller who would rest himself upon the margin of this tank. Flights of steps conduct to the sheet of water, which is introduced by sluice-gates in the eastern verge of the lake. The classical Muslim denominates it *Hoza Kutbí*, and its less euphonious appellation of *Kankryá taláu* is derived from the enormous quantities of lime-stone dug out in its excavation: indeed, this part of the country abounds with Kankar, as a recent discussion in some of the Indian journals would designate the material. The commencement of this construction is attributed to the first year of Katb-u-dín's reign, A. H. 855, corresponding with 1451 of the Christian æra.

Upon the western bank of the *tank* is the Dutch cemetery—in lamentable destruction; chiefly from that cancerous crumbling agency to which I have already alluded as of atmospheric action:—here, it is painfully apparent. A couple of tombs with Armenian characters upon lime-stuccoed slabs were recognized; where marble has been employed, their recesses are vacant. The following names were traced along the margin of the exposed upper surface of some of the grave-stones—

Wilhelm Huÿsman. Died 28th October 1699.

Johann Millissen. Onder Chirurgy. Died 5th August 1679.

David Roedyk—*the rest illegible.*

Reeraven Cornelius Weyus van Banda. Died 12th January 1669.

On a tombstone plastered with lime-stucco in a peculiar watered style, resembling the appearance given Damascus-blades, which neither the abrasive influence of climate nor the effects of exposure to rain has wholly removed, occurs this inscription:

Begraven Dalniel Aima Obÿt, 23rd April Anno 1664.

The name could not be deciphered on a tomb which bears the date of 1641.

The DUTCH FACTORY, a heavy upper-roomed building, still exists without the Three Gates; it was recently in the occupation of an European Schoolmaster for the instruction of Christian children brought up under the Anglican Church: the style of construction approximates to the English factories of Surát and Cambay. The presence of the Armenian tombs in the burial ground, would merely lead to the inference that the deceased parties held subordinate employments as brokers or interpreters to the Netherlands Government.

5th January.—Out of the Delhí Darwáza, proceeded towards Bahá-dínpurá, now known as Báudí-pura, where stands the mosk of BIBI UCHUT KUKI, generally styled *Bibí-ka-masjíd,* built by Wazír Málik Bahá-u-dín called Emádul Mulk (the MIRAT AHMEDI has it Ekhárul mulk,) on the fifth of Jamád al Aval A. H. 874, in the reign of Shahái Mahmud surnamed Begadá. The mosk was at one time remarkable for possessing seven minarets; the three at the outer entrance, and two by the doorway which leads into the area immediately before the masjíd, are entirely lost, while fragments only now exist of the two appertaining to the sanctuary. These last commanded a peculiar vibrative motion, in which both sympathized, from the upper niche whence the muezzin recites; but they fell in the earthquake of 1818. A gentleman who had heard the story from him, mentions that W. B. B. MILLS of the Civil Service, at the time out upon a hunting expedition,

saw the minarets fall. Perhaps the Bíbí's mosk is the only one in and about Ahmedabad free from all Hindu sculpture and wretched plagiarisms of the elaborate pillars of the Bhudistical order—in this instance, the columns being square and plain, alternately having a flowered lozenge introduced midway between the capital and the base. The remains of the *mínárs* attached to the masjíd present an exceedingly happy appearance, the surface being neatly wrought in cinctures of flowers and other waving tracery: from the terraced roof of the mosk there is an agreeable view of the forests of trees scattered in every quarter, and the Sábarmatí winding its course along the city walls. A hare who had ensconced herself in a bush in the outer area, was disturbed by our entry; while numbers of monkeys grinned at our movements from the surrounding trees. A poor African, with the most placid appearance I have ever yet seen in any of his kind, who had also the misfortune of being a leper, was the only occupant of the masjíd and its domains. There is a legend extant that *Uchut Kukí* prevailed upon her husband—the statesman who erected the property—to raise this building, by way of propitiating the powers above to remove the barrenness with which she had been afflicted; and the circumstance of the birth of an heir by the following year was attributed to this monument of her piety.

We now took our way to the Shápur Darwáza, and prior to entering the city went over the paper manufactory of a joint stock association of Musalmán—called *Kágdís,* and as a distinct tribe, only intermarry among themselves—who at one time realized handsome dividends by the use of the Government-Stamp, which has since been withdrawn from them. The article manufactured is of rather a primitive feature, but is strong and glazed, resembling similar material manipulated in Persia and the North West provinces of India. From a thousand to fifteen hundred heads are daily employed in saturating the bleached and putrescent Bengal Hemp, *ganní* thread

&c., for the final preparation; with which at a subsequent stage is mixed a quantity of wheat starch; the gelatinous mass is then received upon a close matting drawn upon a frame very like that used by ladies in Berlin work. Sheet after sheet is thus taken off at the rate of forty an hour; when, the day's labour is introduced between two stout boards, over which a couple of heavy stones are placed to wring off the superfluous water. So soon as weight and heavy stamping have effected what is believed to be the desired result, women are employed to separate the sheets, which are then secured to the walls of habitations of people engaged in this particular business. Upon being dried, the paper is removed and undergoes the operation of receiving that highly glazed appearance which it possesses, by a marble roller being smartly drawn over an angular concave surface. Five descriptions of paper are thus made of various sizes, strength and lustre; the most inferior is the *Barígiorá*, sold between two and three annas a quire, while the *Saíb khání*, which is the first quality, realizes from twenty to twenty-four annas per quire; the intermediate descriptions are called *Máhmud Shahái*, *Murad Shahái*, and *Kambátí*.

6*th January*.—For the first time this morning the bell of a Protestant temple in this Muhammadan stronghold, summoned its congregation to Divine worship within its precincts. Heretofore, service had been performed by the Station Chaplain in the great hall of the Adálat of a Sabbath morning; and in the afternoon at one of the mess-rooms in the cantonments without the city. Government had at last conceded the requisite funds for raising a Church—and a talented young officer, Lieutenant William Rice Dickenson, of the Bombay Engineers, had both planned and superintended the erection of the present building. The style of architecture employed is a mixed gothic and of the Elizabethian age; the windows perhaps may appear too small for a Gujarát climate, but the interior arrangements otherwise

make up the apparent deficiency. It is a quiet, neat village-looking little edifice; its extreme length is given—N. to S. 42 feet, E. to W. 71 feet. The ground plan is cruciform; the vestibule and vestry room which face each other, north and south, forming the transverse aisle. While the altar occupies its usual recess in the eastern compartment, the pulpit and reading desk are placed in advance of either wing of this compartment. A small sand-stone font stands in the centre of the western extremity of the building.

The Lord Bishop of Bombay had arrived here on New-Year's Day, and was to consecrate the recently completed CHRIST-CHURCH this morning. The occasion had collected a large number of people to witness the imposing ceremony. The Right Reverend THOMAS CARR, D. D., attended by several of his clergy, was received at the door of the Church by the more eminent of the different residents; where he was also presented with the petition of the Reverend THOMAS EDMUND TYRWHITT, M. A. of Brazennose, Oxon; supported by several signatures, soliciting consecration of the temple which is situated in Mirzápura, and of the cemetery facing the Khánjang gate on the banks of the Sáharmáti. Upon his lordship having invested himself with his episcopal robes, and taken his position at the altar, the Reverend Mr. ALLEN (his private chaplain) was directed to read aloud Mr. TYRWHITT'S petition: this office being done, the Bishop, followed by his clergy, walked up the great aisle, repeating the XXIVth Psalm, *Domini est terra.* On returning to the Communion-table, the service adapted for such occasions was performed; when his Lordship's authority, under his seal and signature, was read aloud by Mr. ALLEN.

The morning service was succeeded by the confirmation of several young folk: after which Dr. CARR delivered a discourse immediately treating upon the solemn rite of the day, taking his text from the twenty-eighth

chapter of Genesis, and the twenty-second verse—"*This stone which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's House.*" The amiable prelate descanted at some length, and in his usual perspicuous style, upon the object of temples under the Mosaic dispensation, their origin and peculiar purpose among the early Christians, and their present intention; and, in the solemn charge which then ensued to his congregation—he exhorted them in terms equally striking and dignified, to practice in their lives the precepts of their faith—to evince in their conduct without, what was recognized within that Church; concluding his sermon with an earnest appeal to the Providence of Heaven to guard that building and its attendants, in language as affecting and majestic as that which formed the prayers of Solomon upon the dedication of the first temple of Jerusalem.*

The service had commenced at 11 A. M., and was completed by two in the afternoon. An hour afterwards, I passed the *Gáikawád Haveli* now used by the Ordnance Department. The construction is apparently of Muhammadan design though attributed to the brave Dámají; the upper portion of some part of the walls appears to have been perforated for musketry. The ground it compasses is extensive, and the gateways leading into the interior are heavy and imposing.

The situation of the Protestant Burial-ground has been already described:—it adjoins the ruins of a Masjíd, still exhibiting the effects of the storming party at General GODDARD'S assault of the city. The original grave-yard having been wholly occupied, a large plot had been recently added. A number of monuments are of marble; the only one of any age, is that raised over the remains of Captain JOHN GOUGH, of the Bengal Army, erected under the orders of General GODDARD. Captain Gough died

* I had thought this of sufficient general interest to dash off a hasty account for one of the Presidency prints: it appeared in the *Telegraph and Courier* of 14th idem, and was subsequently extracted by most of the Indian Journals.

of the effects of a wound received at the assault of Ahmedábád. Among others, is a monument to the memory of Major WILLOCK, of the Bombay Artillery, who was drowned in attempting to ford the Sábarmátí during the freshes which prevails in the wet months. Of those who have been spared like 'splendour of woe' (the significant idea of Lord BYRON for these structures) is Major T. D. MORRIS, of the Bombay Army—the *John Docherie* of the Oriental Sporting Magazine, and one of the leading members of the Bombay turf.

The Roman Catholic cemetery is a stone's throw to the southward: its dimensions are narrow; and the tombs appear to belong to the poorer classes of the Christian community generally resident in Ahmedábád.

Took the Jamálpur road homewards, and passed the Zoroastrian Agiari, erected about three years ago by one Karsedjí Berámjí. The *Tower of Silence*, at no considerable distance beyond, was built shortly after by general contribution. The Parsís here are chiefly engaged in traffic of some kind—they form an insignificant proportion of the community; the account corroborated by most of the sect, gave forty Bedín and two Mobíd families. They have very lately come hither. Mancharjí of the Káranj appears the oldest resident.

CHAPTER XIII.

SHAHAI BHAG; and acquaintance with claimants to the property—Sheík Chíshtí's Masjid—Sarkhej—Gogá: and the Rával of Bháunagar—Early English connexion with Ahmedábád—Intelligent Native—Valavás.

7TH JANUARY.—Visited SHAHAI BHAG, a distance of fully two miles from the city, on the grounds of which is raised a stupendous edifice with adjoining offices for the royal household and the Seráglio—intended for the Summer palace of Shahái Jehán, when Sultán Karrím, Viceroy of Gujarát, during the life-time of his father Jehángír of convivial celebrity in the annals of the Muslím Emperors of Hínduṣthán.* No sacrifice was wanting, along with the demolition of several hamlets—according to the tradition handed down—to render this seat worthy the voluptuous retreat of the unfortunate parent of Aurangzeb; the domains occupying 105 bígás and 3 vískonj, equivalent to about 100 acres: avenues lined by the magnificent red tamarind, whose umbrageous foliage screens the rays of Sol, conduct the visitor to the principal pile.

The buildings are now kept in repair by the Government, but I know nothing recommendatory in them, beyond their situation: the apartments being formed without any view to comfort, while an attempt at imposing grandeur had been mainly kept in view by the architect. The prince for whom these were executed, never even entered the grounds, in

* In a local effusion called the *Harír-am-majmudín*, it is stated that Jehángír came to Ahmedábád in 1027 A. H., when he made over the Subáh to his son—who appointed Adam Khán Udhí as his lieutenant. It is this individual who is said to have built forts on the Mihí, Khárí, and Wátrao, rivers.

consequence—so runs the legend—of the height of the gate that he took, not admitting him upon the lofty elephant that he rode, and long before the evil was remedied, he had mounted the imperial throne. The fountains and aqueducts which once existed about Shahái Bhág, have long gone to ruins: and the park which originally boasted cypresses, acacias, palmettos, —all that could grace the prospect and captivate the sight, with the shrubberies, parterres and orchards—form now a wild waste. Even in the buildings, the alabaster stucco has been supplied by yellow wash; but for the care bestowed by the official functionaries, this agreeable residence during the warm season—only lately the dwelling-place of the Political Residents of Barodá—would ere this have been numbered among the desolate memories of the past.

Taking the southern gate and sweeping up the fine avenue, the *coup d'œil* presented by the palace is nothing short of magnificent. Upon an elevated terrace banked by balustrades, springs the lofty masonry composed of two octagonal and projecting wings to a solid front; the roof is turreted as well as terraced, and affords a commanding prospect of the surrounding country. The rear of the edifice is composed of a woody dell, and at no great distance the Sábarmatí winds its course. The loveliness of nature is most happily intermingled here with the ruins of Masjíd and Mausolea, and hard by appears the capacious dome of Dariá Khán. Shahái Bhág is said to have been constructed about the year 1032 A. H. The vice-royal residence within the city stood near the Khánpur Darwáza, in that part known still as Shahái Jahán-ke-mahál.

A little better than a mile from Shahái Bhág is the military cantonment, occupied by two native infantry regiments; while without the western gate-way is the camp of the Kolí corps.

Returning to the city I made way towards the Shápur gate, to keep an engagement with a Mogul gentleman, who wished me to visit his family mosk. Through several windings leading to a very obscure quarter, I was brought to his residence; which was at the time undergoing repairs, but he had taken up his abode in a temporary dwelling adjoining. An agreeable conversation upon various topics, led me to elicit that his brother* was daily expected from Delhí from a visit paid the king, towards establishing their claim to the Shaháí Bhag property which had been given their family for sundry services performed for the Mogul Government. The British appear to have waived the demand of these parties, and an appeal is about being made to the Home Authorities on the subject. We subsequently proceeded in company to the Masjíd, built by their ancestor Sheík Husen Muhammad Chíshtí (*kul-bal-oliá*, i. e. a great Saint) at his individual expence A. H. 973, and in the reign of Sultán Máhmud *Shahíd*, or 'the martyr,' son of Sultán Latíf Shaháí bín Sultán Muzaffir Halím. If the mosk were not situated in so unfavorable a quarter of the town, its merits would be better known—as it is, it will elicit admiration for the very handsome and elaborate mínárs, (which were never completed according to the account given me,) for the lofty height, the galleries and the numerous and chaste pillars; unfortunately lime-wash has been brushed over the inscription above the centre *kebla*. The area was paved. A recent and mean Masjíd has been raised on a plot to the north. The external appearance of Sheík Chíshti's mosk would warrant far greater expectations than the interior will gratify. Upon leaving, the usual ceremony of Oriental compliments was exchanged.

* With this accomplished Muslim Phillidor I had the satisfaction to lose several games at chess a few days afterwards. His forte lies in the Hindusthání system of making two consecutive moves at a time.

8th January.—Four miles and a half to the South-East of the City are the remarkable mausolea of Sarkhej, from their proximity to a village of that name; but they are erected upon lands appertaining to an adjoining hamlet, called *Makarbá*—custom however has now rendered absolute the designation of SARKHEJ ROZAS. Their vicinity is strewn with ruins of arches, colonnades, and of extensive buildings, apparently of a high classical stamp: of that Indu-Saracenic order which the Orientalist would now define in the system of Indian architecture. To the east, upon an elevated bank, exist two isolated pillars of about thirty feet in height and twelve in the diameter; oral tradition even is silent as to their existence, but it has been, perhaps justly, surmised, that they formed the entrance into the cemetery. The excoriæ upon these pillars is remarkable, occurring a few feet above ground and all around the portion of the shaft it affects—leaving the base untouched. The Sábarmáti once flowed its course along this bank,* but whether natural or artificial circumstances occasioned its bed to have been diverted, it is difficult to assert—the river now runs above a mile and a half more eastward. An extensive tract of country, before the bank, lays waste; and I believe it to be unarable from the soil being impregnated with a salt efflorescence assimilating to soda or natron.

Long before the traveller's approach to the spot, the conspicuous white dome—glistening under a bright sun—of the rozá of Ganj Baksh, embowered as it were among the tufted crests of the *thár*, and beneath a sky of that delicate azure peculiar to Gujarát, presents the most charming prospect, and anticipates a disposition to be pleased with everything:—though much of the beautiful; yet, scourged by dilapidation, indigenous disregard, and forgotten memories. Once among the rozás, the amateur

* Vide BRIGGS's *Ferishta*. Vol. IV., p. 49.

will be delighted with the extensive scope for his sketch-book—while the philosopher meditates upon the vanity which sacrificed hoards of wealth to perpetuate a grovelling display—the sportsman will find *wágrís* at his call, who will quickly beat up the floriken, the partridge and others of the like genera—the angler will discover his rod sufficiently active in an adjoining tanká in securing the *síngálí*, the *debrí* and *párí:* and they who would wile a vacant day from the turmoil and anxieties of life, *bivouac* here with all the volatility and happiness of forgotten care, beside the precincts of the Mausolea of the Muslím Monarch and his Queen.*

To the right of the entrance, is the *gambaj* of Ganj Baksh—a pretty building, and of the same mould as other Muhammadan mausolea. Over the outer-door and entrance into the dome is an inscription in Persian characters; and above the raised masonry within the platform, which marks the spot of sepulture, droops a massive chain (said to be) of silver from the centre of the concave of the dome. Sheík Ahmed Khattu Ganj Baksh, a member of an austere mendicant fraternity recognized by Muhammadans, was the early friend and counsellor of Ahmed Shahái, the first of the kings of his city, and at whose instigation (according to the *Mirát Síkandarí,*) the monarch was led to destroy the noted freebooter, Assa Bhíl, and to found a new kingdom. His early years appear to have been spent at Pattan, from whence he was invited to join Shahái Ahmed; and tradition asserts, that no circumstance would induce him to alter his mode of life, though wealth and every sublunary honor within the gift of a powerful Muslím potentate were proffered. As old age crept on, he sought this spot as the asylum of his last days; and here he appears to have continued to the son the friendship he held for the father. He survived the latter, and

* The AYIN AKBERI would have them of the *Ghorian* line!

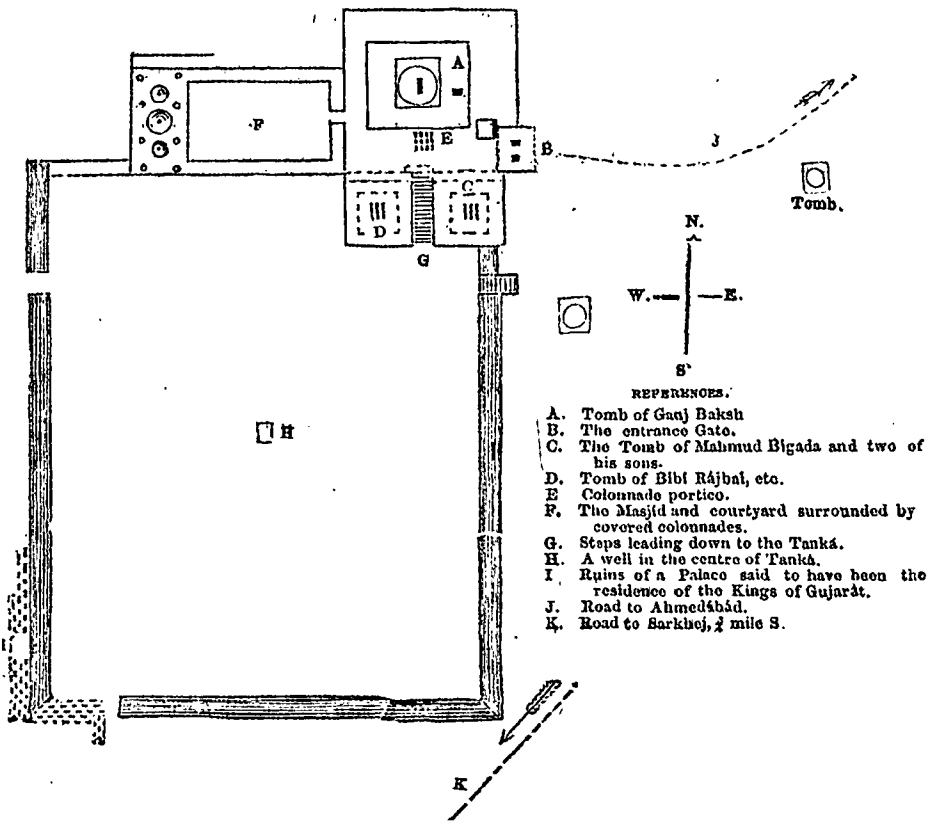
died during the reign of the former—upon his return from the sack of Wágrá, about the year 1445. Máhmud Shahái commenced the gambaj and masjíd which were completed several years afterwards by his son Jalál Khán, better known as Katb-u-dín. Many are the strange stories told of this holy pilgrim (*Fakír*); the one which delighted me most, and I had repeated to me several times by the Siad, participated of the spirit of Arabian romance. "He was a saintly mortal Ganj Baksh: he was free from the sensualities to which our race is prone; his heart was ever with Alla, (whose name be praised) and his thoughts with Muhammad (blessings upon our holy prophet)—his life was one of virgin purity; his death, that of the beatified. *Allá, il allá,* &c. Kings of the earth were admonished by him; the lowliest found in him a friend. Wealth was profusely scattered at his feet, but he saw it not, received it not—Allá was his all! Before he passed from this world to the Paradise of our hope—he built this rozá. The laborers and artificers employed by him were daily paid their hire, and the good genii who supplied the funds, deposited the exact quota to be appropriated, beneath the carpet of the holy Ganj Baksh. Thus was built this delightful mausoleum to the memory of a saint, whose virtues we can still revere, if our imperfections prevent a close pursuit upon his footsteps. *Alla, il alla,* &c." The legend is credited by the surrounding Musalmán, and has doubtless been repeated to every visitor who would prove a willing auditor.

To the west of the dome is a large quadrangular pile, with a masjíd upon its western face;* while colonnades extend along the other walls, and

* "At Sercaze, a sacred place five miles from Ahmedabad, is a very grand masjed, which is said to be an exact imitation of the temple at Mecca, so highly revered by every pious Mussulmaun. It also contains a complete model of the Kauba, a square building at Mecca, which the ancient Arabians used to adorn with the best compositions of their poets, written in golden characters on silk hangings." FORBES'S *Oriental Memoirs*. The major portion, pure fiction; and yet it is *all* in allusion to this romantic spot.

covered seats in the southern walk overlook the large built tanká immediately under it. To the south of the dome, and upon the left as you enter the rozá, is a very chaste mausoleum of stone cemented with *chunám*, containing the remains of Máhmud Bígadá, and two of his brothers—a smaller rozá to the west is raised over Máhmud's Queen: the marble grave-stones

GROUND PLAN OF THE ROZA AND MAUSOLEUM OF GANJ BAKSH AND OF MAHMUD BIGADA, NEAR SARKHEJ, SITUATED $5\frac{1}{2}$ MILES W. S. W. OF THE CITY OF AHMEDABAD.



are neatly sculptured, and along the edges are elegantly wrought relievi characters, comprising quotations from the Kurán.

The Rozás possess endowed lands for their support, the major portion of which lies within the Sarkhej hamlet, but bitter complaints prevail of the encroachments made by the Head Patel; so much so as to divest the right of the Siads to the better management of the property, which is denominated *Okhof*—the Arabic for glebe.* The revenue is estimated at twelve hundred rupees annually; from which the following payments are primarily made in the old Ahmedábád Sicca Rupee, and according to the assayed exchange published at the Bombay presidency.

Nazaráni to Government.....	Rs. 51
Douceurs to officers of Revenue.....	„ 11
Payment as *Vol;* a species of contribution levied by Kolís, assimilating in feature to the Black-mail of Scotland.....	„ 21
	Rs. 83

Upon this deduction from the gross receipts; the surplus is rendered divisible thus:—

One-eighth—to the descendants of the old *Muta Valí,* or Manager during the Muslím power.

One-eighth—received by the present Manager.

* I am pained to add that the greater part of this property is now under mortgage; if the *chef* were assisted by the local authorities in investing a portion of the rental towards releasing the indemnity, it would tend eventually rather to increase the present financial resources than diminish them, and to support the repairs of the *rozas* &c., with some becoming attention. The measure can be (prosecuted—or, rather) adopted without involving the Company's Government in the least expence—the eye of interference is merely necessary to prevent misappropriation; yet at the same time—would it be discreditable to British rule to prevent the sensible destruction of such noble piles, and thus maintain the surviving works of grandeur, which at this time bestow an historic charm to the soil of the Gujars?

Six-eighths—set apart for expences attending the *Hurus*, or anniversary of the *Pír* (Ganj Baksh), for the expences of the *Mohlud*,* and for feeding fakírs who visit the shrine.

The present Agoumenos, or superior of the community, is a Suní Bohorá, whose family came into office some eighty years ago, during the Maharáta administration—his name is Zenulabdín, but he is commonly called Náná Miá; he is a pleasant and well-informed old man: it is said the Síads are jealous of him.

The AYIN AKBERI makes mention of Sarkhej, which *Gladwin* sets down in his translation as *Surgonj*: it is noticed in a flattering manner. MANDLESLO'S visit in 1638 is interesting; and wrought up to the right height for—'barbaric Ind.'†

Unconnected with the foregoing, and to the south of the Ganj Baksh rozá and tanká—under a small and ill-shaped dome—is the humble shrine of *Bává Alísher*; at present undergoing repairs with the assistance of contributions of the charitably inclined Musalmán of Ahmedábád.

* The nativity of Muhammad; which is maintained with considerable festivity by Ahmedábád Musalmán for ten days.

† "The dayes following I spent in seeing the sepulchres which are about the city, and among others particularly that which is in the village of *Zirkees*, about a league and a half from Amadabat. 'Tis the work of a King of *Guzuratta*, built by him to the memory of a *Kasi*, who has been his *Præceptor*; and has grown very famous upon the account of many pretended miracles done by him after his death. The whole structure, wherein there are four hundred and forty great pillars, thirty foot high, is of marble, as also the floor of it, and serves for a Sepulchre to three other Kings, who would need be buried there with their families. At the entrance of this sumptuous monument, there is a large *Tanke* or Cistern, full of water and enclosed with a wall, which hath several windows all about it. The *Mahamutans* of those parts go on pilgrimage thither; and in this village of *Zirkees* is made the best Indico in all the country." MANDLESLO'S TRAVELS—Vide *Davis's Translation*. The *Ayín Akberí* also alludes to Indigo being plentifully grown here: the ruins of vats may still be seen extensively scattered—however, it is now no longer raised, out of respect to the religious prejudices of the Jáinas, who have the ascendancy in the country.

Close by, a few lofty *bars* spread their umbrageous shade invitingly to the traveller and the picnic party. The tomb of Bává Alísher is regarded with peculiar veneration; and a standing rule is stoutly upheld that no individual shall be allowed to sleep within its precincts:—it is said to be traditional. The marvellous will however creep to its assistance, with the bigoted and the ignorant; and the attendant will be found very gravely to narrate that during the night a tiger enters the Mausoleum and sweeps the pavement with his tail, devouring the daring wretch who would profane the sacred precincts by such intolerance. The story is sufficiently absurd—in fine, a bugbear; but it was amusing to notice its efficacy upon the unfortunate native wights who appeared simultaneously with me and listened to the tale. "Alla, defend us from being so wicked"—said one; "may my right hand forget her cunning, if I forget my duty to my saint"—said another: but all implicitly credulous of the veracity of the sage-looking *fakir*.

About three miles westward of the Sarkhej rozas, and near the village of Sanáhtal, are the remains of a pretty *tanká:* its appearance is rendered picturesque from the presence of a large *bar* tree upon the western bank; the southern masonry has unfortunately given way, so that during the hot season the tanká has a prospect of being dried up. Its history is wholly unknown.

The country about this part is open, and I have been told that during the summer months it is the *meídán* of Gujarát antelopes, who gambol here "right merrilie." The sportsman however can only obtain his game by walking under cover of a country-cart, and tossing his victim over while the vehicle continues its progress:—these animals are otherwise inaccessible to Europeans from the novelty of dress.

10*th January*.—Goga, or *Gogo*, according to the Maharáta geogra-

phy, in the province of Katíwár, is by our classification in the Ahmedábád collectorate, and the sea-port of that zillá; from thence is exported—cotton, tobacco, wool, opium, and other commodities, to the great mart of Western India. Not now so only, but in by-gone memories it was the great port of the Gulf of Cambay; of the Anhulwárá fleet in the tenth century; and the scene of the cruel warfares of the Portuguese in 1532 and 1546—when fire and the sword were allowed their wanton characteristics. In Sawant 1275 the *Gohíl of Peram*—the celebrated Mokadhájí—conquered the aborigines (Kolís) and established his sovereignty: hence the Gogárí Gohíls. Mokadhájí soon became the terror of the country from his conquests and his prodigious feats of valor; and subsequently his achievements on the water led to the fleet of Ajmír attacking him in his stronghold—he had captured six richly-laden ships of the Mogul. Mokadhájí, however, was an extraordinary man: by historical legend, his stature was six cubits, his strength that of the elephant, and in personal conflict—single-handed—no other human creature dare approach him. After his force had destroyed 25,000 men of the invading army of the Mogul, he himself fell at Khajuría-chotra, by his head being decapitated; but without this member, the trunk is said to have walked a distance of nine kos, fighting the entire way, and to this day his family appear to possess proofs of this journey. Once again the Gohíl possessed Gogá; and when a brief interval of intestinal warfare deprived him of it, he once again possessed it through the agency of his kinsman, who urged the adoption of his own appellation, that of Rával, and thenceforward the Rával of Gogá. The family records however trace the designation to the defence of Chítor shortly before—the distinguished hero on the occasion had perished in that memorable contest. Gogá subsequently became part of the government of the Mogul dynasty of Ahmedábád; from whom it fell into the Bábí family, and was thus for a time the property of the Jáunagar

Nawáb; from whom again it was wrested by the Cambay *gadí;* and once more fell to a descendant of the original victors in Sawánt 1818 (A. D. 1762), and by him presented to the Peshwá two years subsequently—when, the government of Puná, in consideration of this gift, manumitted the tax previously levied on Bháunagar. Gogá was, in fact, a mere sea-port which the mariner sought in tempestous weather, and where he lay up his craft during the rainy season; and all the talukás now made dependent upon this parganá formerly belonged to the principality of Sehor and subsequently Bháunagar, and were distributed among the younger branches of the family by the Rávals who successively mounted the throne. From Gogá this *gadí* was removed to Sehor, conquered from the Brámíns in Sawant 1575, and thence to Bháunagar in Sawant 1779, or A. D. 1723, by Bháusanjí, who bestowed his name on the capital he had founded; and though one of the talukás of the rával, it appertains in degree to the British by that treaty of Bassín, whose precise value may be ascertained on a reference to the elaborate paper on the revenues of India supplied by Major T. B. JERVIS of the Bombay Engineers, to the Bombay Geographical Society.

Pride—the first and most fatal error of civilization—ever permits the Rájput an illustrious paternity; illustrious in all that earth holds most dear in its present concatenation of temporal happiness. Yet it is the same spirit which marked the barons of England and the nobles of Germany and France not many centuries ago—the same love of independence and haughty assurance, but with a loftier and more generous ancestry. The early Rájputs had known science 'in many a various phase' while European chivalry was steeped in ignorance, or later still in those meaningless snatches of poesy known as the amorous ditties of Languedoc and Provençe: while the cloister sometimes concealed the wisdom of ages and silently drew its own picture of the times. Not so in Rájasthán—as TOD has more

poetically than veraciously denominated it:—there, chiefs were statesmen as well as warriors, and the musical cadence of poetry was only allowed to beguile the more leisure and volatile hours. In history alone—there yet remains treasures untold; but a byegone time with all its charms has little for the present age. Who is our chief?

"In a Rajpoot"—says Colonel Tod, while accompanying his friend the Resident of Barodá, Mr. Williams, to visit the Rával of Bhâunagar—"in a Rajpoot, I always recognise a friend, and my being from the court of *Hindu-pati*, or the head of the Hindu race, by whom his ancestors were ennobled, if titles could ennoble them, secured me an additional share of country." The Anglo-historian of his country knew the true character of the Rával's race, and hence the distinction given. Tracing direct descent through the Gohíls to that Shálívahán—who shattered the dominion of a not less celebrated prince Víkramáditýa the first, founded an empire in Prítesthán and bequeathed to posterity that era which partakes his name and which is largely employed in the Dekkan,—Vajásangjí, the monarch of Bhâunagar, with all his present cares, finds more satisfaction in his genealogical tree, which traces his progenitors to within a century of the Christian æra, than the princes of Italy with their garbled r[illegible]s of Roman manipulation.

Tod agreeably elucidates the Gohil pe[illegible]e, where *Rájá*, the usual appellation throughout India for a Hindu prince, is still maintained by such member occupying the throne of Sehor, and the Rával of Bhâunagar as the eldest son upon being supplanted of his inheritance by an uncle and through the aid of a brother-in-law—the Rával of Dongarpur—recovering his *gadí* had it re-removed to its present situation, and from thence the designation has become a familiar one—which originally merely arose out of compliment—with Rájá and Ráná so far as the present chieftain is concerned. Their history is a series of warlike deeds, and of instances of personal con-

flict—where the monarch himself or his progeny, his ministers, or his favorites, are the principal performers: and *ergo* when the Hindu of whom I sought information, undid his 'roll of origin' narrating some of these—I discovered that a volume might easily be made up of the heroes only of this royal house, independent of the interest which must always be felt in such; doubly interesting in reference to our unshaken ally when perils burst upon us from 'the four corners of the earth.' An instance of the warlike affection offers in the career of Vakhat Sangjí, the parent and immediate predecessor of the present Rával, who conquered the several parganás of Mháuwa, Gadaráu, Gudalá, Rajuláu, and the subordinate outposts of Kárapat, and Lathíawád, and who gave the present dimensions to the Bháunagar ráj.

All this however merely shews that the present chief of Bháunagar—*rával*, by the way, literally signifies 'valiant,' and the honorary appellation bestowed in former times by a king upon a successful military leader—is of royal ancestry, and that this ancestry is distinguished for more than the mere accident of birth. In addition he possesses large tributary talukás, and though the revenue is annually diminishing through unaccountable causes, to what it was estimated originally, the same fraternal regard is entertained towards the East India Company which was so handsomely evinced in the opening of the present century. Owing to the British Government having a military cantonment in the province (at Rájkot,) the Rájá has largely diminished the number of troops formerly maintained, and I am not aware that he now entertains more than fiscal and police establishments for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of order,—excepting the household guards. There have been other alterations with other times. His present Highness, *Rával Srí Vijyesíngjí*, (as state-communications should designate him) has given a mercantile impetus to his financial

acquisitions, and from Tod may be learned what is commonly reported here, that the Majesty of Bháunagar owns, and once upon a time more extensively owned, ships carrying cargo on freight; but he had the misfortune to experience a sad lesson in the treachery of a character, who immediately employed his craft in slave-traffic, which led to the seizure of the vessel and its being condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Bombay—the Rával endeavoured every means towards recovery of his property but unavailingly. His taste however is reputed to be extremely European for a Rájput; and his hall of state is reputed to be crowded with various ornaments and implements of art along with the figure-heads of ships—as indicative of the peculiar bent of that taste or inclination. In other respects, he has fewer or in moderate degree, the foibles of his countrymen: in the partaking of the betel-leaf, opium, and other fashionable accomplishments of his people, he is obliged to conform; but it is more matter of form—the compulsion which society enforces of those in society—than anything else. With singular exceptions, Víjyesíngjí has made friends in every English functionary whom he has met, and some of them have left pleasing accounts of their interviews. He is now old, considering that he has been upon the throne nearly five and thirty years; and his first and most graceful deed in mounting his gadí, was the provision of the several members of his father's family. He is mild in manners, readily daunted by violent measures, and dreading to employ them himself even in extreme cases: but he is charitable not only in purse but at heart, kind to all worthy his kindness, and his government for a native prince exhibits a clemency and integrity rarely seen elsewhere. While the Nawáb of Cambay has been materially benefited by our connexion without any assistance or service having been rendered by him, the Rával on more than one occasion has seconded, if not sensibly promoted, our wishes whenever they were even suggested. The Rával of Bháunagar is

now fast approaching upon the Indian period of the 'sere leaf,' yet with all his difficulties he retains such a happy hallucination of the protection of our Government, that the precise form in which it is to be obtained is all that he desires to know. If things political need investigation or reference, the agent at Rajkot must be the means of his communication; if respecting the talukás in the parganá of Gogá, application must be made through the Ahmedábád Kacherí: the position is a very anomalous one, but nothing short of fact. Perhaps with the largest territorial revenue in the province and second only to the Ráu of Kach—he is said not to be his own master in the palace, that he occupies, which is upon land rendered tributary, while a hamlet beyond would alter circumstances. The port of Bháunagar might be a valuable one but for the existence of foreign dues—the district itself however supplies a revenue of nearly two láks of rupees. The British Government receive annually something more than half a lák of rupees as the Jumá due upon the Rával's talukás in the Ahmedábád zillá, besides the tribute received by the Political Agency of about a lák, which was originally paid the court of Barodá. His entire revenue is given at eight láks of rupees per annum, or about £80,000: not twenty years ago it was estimated at a third more in the papers presented to the public before the passing of the present charter of the East India Company. Vijyesingjí has a grandson to succeed him.

11*th January*.—FORBES* makes mention of having seen the old English factory, but with all the ingenuity and perseverance employed by me, I certainly cannot trace it. Its history however is brief. Captain BEST in his treaty provided for an establishment here. Mr. ALDWORTH, in the first report ever given of this market, communicates that he could purchase Indigo here cheaper than at any of the other bazars he had visited. ALD-

* *Oriental Memoirs.*

WORTH had procured a house here in November 1613. In April following, WITHINGTON on his return from Sind put up in it. In the succeeding month of December, EDWARDES also occupied the dwelling on his way to Agra with gifts for the emperor. On the 21st January 1615 the factors of Ahmedábád, from want of competition with the Portuguese, made extensive purchases and with sufficient cheapness. They set out for Surát with forty carts laden with indigo and cloths; and an escort, which the local government increased because murders and robberies had been committed a few nights previously close to the walls of the city. On the 5th of February the caravan arrived at Surát, when the goods were shipped on board of the vessels lying off Swáli. In August, ALDWORTH started again for Ahmedábád in company with the guard of the equivocal Mocrab Khán. ALDWORTH dying here the month following, KERRIDGE took charge of the factory on his way from Agra, where he had been relieved by the presence of the English Ambassador, Sir THOMAS ROE: very shortly after, KERRIDGE was both fined and imprisoned, from mere love of extortion, by the native authorities. On the 24th January 1616, Sir THOMAS ROE at a public audience with Jahángír communicated *viva voce* to the Mogul Emperor, the insults and privations endured by the factors of Ahmedábád; when mandates were issued restoring the fine, and insisting upon the English being treated with all favour. In 1622, the factors were again incarcerated; the occasion of which has already been noticed in the English History of Surat. The general Indian investment for the Home-Market for 1628-29 comprised extensive purchases of cloth at Ahmedábád. Early in 1638, *Benjamin Roberts* is stated by MANDLESLO to be the 'principal English merchant' at Ahmedábád. "His coach"—writes the German tourist—"made after "the *Indian* fashion, was gilt all over, covered with several pieces of rich "*Persian* tapestry, and drawn by two white oxen, which expressed as

" much metal as we could have expected from the best horses in *Germany*." And further on he adds—" The *English* house or lodge is in the middle of " the city, well built, and hath many fair and convenient apartments, with " spacious courts for the disposal of Merchandizes; Master *Roberts* brought " me first into his own chamber, which look'd into a little flower-garden, in " which there was a fountain. The floor was cover'd with Tapestry, and " the pillars which sustain'd the structure were set out with silk-stuffs of " several colors, and above, a great white tassel according to the custom of " the great ones of the country. We had a collation; after which he " shew'd me the whole house, and brought me into a fair chamber, which " he had design'd for my lodging. We supp'd in a great hall, whither the " Dutch Deputy came after supper to see us." Other trifling detail follows, but of no immediate relation to the present theme. For the commercial year of 1642-43 large stocks of cloth and indigo were obtained. TAVERNIER met the members of the English Factory here about this time. In 1657, Ahmedábád shared with Sind, in the purchase of salt-petre. Sir GEORGE OXINDEN'S report of trade for 1663-64 responded the Court of Directors' appeal for withdrawing the trade from Ahmedábád, since as ordinary merchants they might have sent Agents to this city. In 1670, the Factory was transferred from hence to Nandrábár, East of Surát, in Kándes. The oldest English grave-stone to be traced at Ahmedábád or its environs is of so recent a date as the storm and capture of the city by the gallant young General—GODDARD.

This morning, I had some hours' agreeable conversation with a young native gentlemen who had received an English education, more liberal than that given the majority of his countrymen: his inclination had led him at first to pure mathematical pursuits, but upon ascertaining that these would not extend an European intercourse, he had diverted his self-arranged plan

of instruction to historical and scientific subjects. He was delighted when told of the system of lectures now pursued at the Grant Medical College by Doctors Morehead, Peet, and Giraud; he was astonished when informed of Sir Erskine Perry's scientific *soiree*—the exhibition of the Drummond light, and of several expensive experiments; and his amazement knew no bounds upon hearing that Lord Auckland, when Governor-General of India, had frequently rendered the vice-regal palace of Calcutta the scene of such eminent display. We parted—mutually pleased—after my putting him in the way of procuring a few philosophical instruments.

This evening I have had the subjoined account presented to me, of the only information yet in European possession of the Gujarát *valává* or safeguard. The information was orally supplied so far back as the third of August, 1839 by Ujabsíng Dalpatsíng, of the Dhábí Kánt Koli clan, and *Thákur* (feudal baron) of Gorásar. This safeguard, I ought to mention, is always availed of by opulent travellers, and in every instance by merchants, during the transit of their traffic from one part of the country to another. But the chieftain tells his own story well enough.

"My *valává*, or safeguard (escort), extends from the northern gate of Mehmudábád to the Ráipur or Astoría Gate of Ahmedábád, and along the road leading through the hamlets of Sanvolí, Roísa, Ráska, Hírápur, Víyánch, Rámol, and Mehmudábád Kasbá. I also furnish protection to the *Sang* (assembly of pilgrims) as far as the north gate of Naríad when proceeding to the annual *jatrá* (fair) held near Chandod Kunnelí upon the banks of the Narbadá. My followers likewise attend the Sang to about three kos east of Mundá and the right bank of the Mohar river, when upon their monthly visit to Dákor. Valává was given at one time between Gorásar and Ahmedábád, and *vice versa*, but the route has been abandoned in consequence of its being almost unfrequented to what it was hitherto—some of

my men however occasionally give their personal safeguard (at their own hazard and profit) upon this line. Assistance is frequently afforded to parties upon the intermediate stages. With exception however of the Valává of the Sang for Chandod Kanneli and Dákor, the other roads are annually farmed—and this year they have realized me five hundred rupees: my name is all that is used. The strength of the force which accompanies the Sang averages from fifteen to thirty-five men according to the number of carts and travellers. The fees levied are trifling, but both vehicles and pedestrians are taxed. In the aid supplied pilgrims and others by me, or by those who have farmed any line of road under my authority, I do not hold myself responsible for any losses which occur between sunset and sunrise, or attacks from robbers: between that interval when the daily journey is fairly completed, I guarantee the compensation of property which may have been stolen, and my guards will defend the persons and luggage of those whom they engage to serve. It is usual therefore for travellers arriving at their halting-place towards evening to make engagements for a trifling remuneration with the village *pagis*—in the absence of such, my men will undertake the task for a small douceur. But for this, I do not hold myself accountable. Again, if during the day journey (for we never travel at night) a káfila should be attacked by robbers, and plunder ensue after my men are either killed or wounded, I render no compensation for such loss sustained by the traveller, as my guard had performed their duty: indeed, these provisions are now universally understood by the natives, otherwise we would certainly proceed to written stipulations to this effect. Any of my guards who become invalided from wounds and other injuries sustained while on my service, I am obliged to maintain, and their families as well; bestowing food and a dose of opium daily, and occasionally clothing. The chief stations of my men beyond my authority are an encamp-

ment of huts on the north of Mehmudábád Kasbá in a grave of lofty tamarind trees and within the environs of several dilapidated reservoirs; and in a Dharamsálá attached to the mosk called Mullah Adamjí ná rozá on the right of the road leading to the Kánkría taláu in what is denominated Ragunáth purá near the Ráipur Darváza on the south of the city of Ahmedábád. The valává is ready at a call at these stations.

"My own sway extends over my ancestral property comprising the villages of Gorásar, Haldarvás, Harbolí *náná* (small), and Harbolí *motí* (great): Haldarvás was formerly the residence of the Thákur, but during the last century he removed to Gorásar: the hamlet however is now made the property of the heir-apparent to the barony, while the younger sons are provided for from the other tenures held by the chief. I am expected to visit Ahmedábád once or twice annually to pay my respects to the Gosáijí Maharáj, who is my Guru or high priest, and to make my obeisance at the temple of my tutelar deities—Natwájí and Shámjí; on such occasions I bestow free-will offerings in coin and kind, of the value of twenty or thirty rupees."

CHAPTER XIV.

BATWA—Badhr and Jail—Female Infanticide.

12th January.—A pleasant morning ride in a south-east and by south direction, and over a distance of about four and a quarter miles, will bring the tourist to the spacious hamlet of BATWA, remarkable for several Muslím remains, and in particular for the gambaj and masjíd of *Kutbe Alam*. The dome of the mausoleum far exceeds in loftiness the one already noticed appertaining to the Sarkhej rozá, and in this particular it is certainly singular both with respect to erections in, and without the immediate vicinity of, the City of Ahmedábád—the buildings are said to have been raised at the expence of a pious nobleman of the Court of Shahái Ahmed, who had the stones employed conveyed direct from their quarry (Drangadrá in Katiwár) hither. Kutbe Alam, a Muhammadan *pír* of celebrated sanctity—and the prototype of his grandfather Makdum Janía, the great Musalmán saint, whose tomb at Uch (vulgace *Ooch*) to the S. W. of Bhávalpur on the banks of the Satlej, still attracts devotees from Eastern Hindusthán—is lineally descended from the Bokhára Siads, (who are in admirable repute among the followers of the Prophets,) and was born in the vicinity of his ancestors' burial-place. He was one of the many religious satellites invited by the founder of Ahmedábád to grace his Court; and the spot where he first pitched his tent is still pointed out by orthodox Musalmán; near this encampment—upon the high road to Dolká and within the proximity of a Hindu Shrine, known as *Lodhá ka derí*—the ruins of a masjíd

are shewn, declared to have been built by Kutbe Alam. A tradition is current, that for many years during his life-time Batwá was the daily object of a ride to the pious man, which eventually led to a partiality for the site, and hence his subsequent removal to this quarter, its proving his cemetery, and the sanctity of the individual lending its influence to this portion of the country. The piety of Sultán Karrím conceded the hamlet of Batwá and its tributary lands in free gift for the support of the shrine. The first instance in which the property was taxed, is furnished during the administration of the Márwári viceroy of Gujarát; and when Kamál-udín, the progenitor of the great Bábí family, usurped supreme authority during the anarchy at Delhí in the reign of the last Muhammad Shahái, the rental was fixed at Rs. 4000, upon the plea that mendicants and friars had no right of interference with temporal concerns, or rather that such detracted from their legitimate ghostly function. The descendants of the Kutbe are numerous—the revenue is first apportioned into five great divisions, and the sub-sharers are so very plentiful, that from a sum varying between four and five thousand rupees, some parties participate to the extent of an anna each; the poorer flock is in consequence obliged to resort to mendicity, and the veneration for the Bokhara Siads, acts as a spiritual charm upon the bigotry of Muhammadar fatalism, which unstrings the purses of the charitably disposed.

A critical detail of the mausolea of Batwá would be a repetition of the analysis of every similar construction, whether in the city or campagna of Ahmedábád, but in this instance I will borrow the florid description of James Forbes upon his visit in May 1781. "We were conducted to a large "square containing several Mahomedan tombs and grand mausoleums: "some were of white marble, others of stone, covered with the finest stucco "white as alabaster, and exquisitely polished. The domes were supported

"by elegant columns, their concaves richly ornamented, and the tesselated "marble pavement beautifully arranged, vied with those of ancient Rome "in the museum at Portici; the tracery in the windows resembled the "Gothic specimens in European cathedrals; and the small mausolea "which cover each tomb are of fine marble, curiously inlaid with fruit and "flowers, in festoons of ivory, mother-of pearl, cornelians, onyxes, and pre-"cious stones, as neat as in European snuff-boxes. The small tombs in the "centre of the building are adorned with palls of gold and silver-stuff, "strewed with jessamin and mogrees, and hung round with ostriches' eggs, "and lamps which are kept continually burning by the fakeers and dervises "maintained there for that purpose." The tourist will perhaps be disappointed in his expectations not being realized quite in compliance with this rather over-wrought picture, but the memory should be tenaciously impregnated with the knowledge that it is the ruins, not the splendour, of Ahmedábád that he surveys.

To the south of the rozá of Kutbe Alam, is a large *tankâ* built of bricks with slabs along that wall from whence the water is received during the rains as it is drained off from the country to the east: the erection of this tankâ is attributed to a Mogli Khán of the time of Muhammad Bigadá. A couple of tombs and domes are situated near the southern entrance into the village of Batwá: there are also three other tombs raised to the memory of Diván Shahái Zeíd, (a son of Kutbe Alam) and his descendants; the trellis-work of the chief roza is elegantly and elaborately executed: these tombs, however, are under the care of the Shahái Alam masjíd Siadh.

The earliest notice of Batwá is thus afforded by the AYIN AKBARI, adopting the translation of GLADWIN—"Puttewah is a town three coss from Ahmedábád. Here is the tomb of Kotela Alum, the father of Shah Alum. It is built in a garden with accommodation for people who have bidden adieu to the world. Over the sepulchre is a covering about a

cubit square, part of which is wood, another part stone, and the rest iron; and of this many wonderful stories are told." One of the fabled legends given me respecting this lithoxzle, is that Kutbe Alam, upon a journey *sur la pied* to his masjid from his dwelling, tripped against a stone, which fancy led him to pick up, and with enquiring disposition, he ejaculated, while observing it—"what can this be—stone, wood, or iron?" and the combination promptly ensued. The tradition is carefully treasured in the breasts of the poor bigoted community: but I cannot deprive myself of the extract of a visitor, who had anticipated my appearance here, and who artlessly and happily writes to me—"The size mentioned by Abal Fazíl is correct: the stone is not now on the sepulchre, but deposited in the chief Siad's house. Great reverence is paid it, and upon such occasions as visitors desire to see it, it is produced under a covering of brocade and shewn with considerable ostentation. It appears to be petrified wood: the barky part gives it the appearance of iron oxydised;—that portion, where it has been chipped by the hand of Akbar Shahái himself when he visited Batwá, according to the ABBOT of the community, shews the fibre or vein of the wood; and upon the opposite side, where it seems to have been ground cross-wise, it bears the appearance of stone." I deemed it a lithoxzle, and of which numbers might be discovered in private and public collections, but the poor Siads labored under the belief that this was the isolated exception in the universe, and with fond garrulity remarked that its chief merit was the value set upon it by the religious fanatic whose name and fame cast their effulgence over the hamlet of Batwá.

13*th January.*—An extensive plot of ground within the western wing of the city is curtained by a high brick-wall extending over three parts of an irregular square, known as the BADHR or citadel of the ancient monarchs of Ahmedábád. Taking a retrospective view of its importance,

one can well believe, what is attested by their exuviæ, that in this area were comprised the court, the palace, the hall of justice, and other distinctive economy of regal administration. The great entrance upon its eastern face was composed of three lofty arches, which run into each other, while their sides were adorned with elegant relievi inscriptions, both in Persian and Arabic, indicative of the clemency and wisdom of monarchs (ever associated by Islamite zeal with *Omnipotence*); and the duty and submission of their subjects, grateful for daily favors bestowed, and the security which was always enjoyed. Before the handsome entry was a fair parallelogram with archways at each cardinal point; while the eastern portal was truncated. To relieve the monotony of, if not to embellish, this space—arose the *Káranj*, a spacious reservoir, midway. Here, we might well suppose, the pomp of vassalage or the pageantry of embassies to rally their strength and to form their processions, before the presence of royalty was approached: while the sensitiveness which provided against the sultry influence of the climate by the waters of the Káranj, enabled thirst to be assuaged or the burning features to be laved. What now survive—show the reservoir converted into a large shop for European wares; the brick wall which extended along, occupied by mean habitations; and, the last trace of the southern archway long shattered by time or convenience, in the presence of its forlorn haunches. The beam of the triune entrance was rendered by the Maharátas ominous of the government of their Viceroys, and the tradition is agreeably conveyed—how the cavalcade moved along; how archers presented a bow and quiver full of arrows to the governor so soon as he got beneath the centre and great portal; how when he advanced along, five arrows were discharged by expert bowmen, which if true to the beams, signified auspiciously, and as each arrow escaped its aim, so many distructions were to ensue: and the stranger, while listening to the agreeable narrative,

will observe the few incisions which test the accuracy of the legend. A reservoir of recent construction tells of the benevolent administration now existing: and, on a Friday morning, the parallelogram will be found occupied by the venders and purchasers present at the great market day of Ahmedábád. Along with indigenous grain and herbs, and fruit, and local confectionary, the kine of the hamlets, tátus of Kátiwár, the delicate and fanciful earthenware of Pattan, the soap and glass of Kapparwanj—might be noticed many a nomadic tribe of the province of Gujarát, from the wily Kolí making his weekly stock, to the bartering Branjárí, whose character and country continue enigmatical, parting his salt for domestic necessaries. And, if the stranger possesses an interest in the inscriptive ordinances of the past, he has merely to turn to the marble slab in the pier of the arch of the *Thín Darwáza* (Three Gates,) which communicates a piece of interesting intelligence in Maharáta, respecting the principle of inheritance, devised apparently by the late Sir JAMES CARNAC, when Resident of Barodá.

Turning into the area of the Badhr: the hoofs of my horse rang over the hard ground upon which he galloped—caused by the quantities of brick strewn and now imbedded with the earth in the destruction of ancient buildings. The largest pile is certainly the Adhálat; of Maharáta origin: dark tortuous stairways—fitted for vilest deed; long narrow varándas; an exposed courtyard in the centre; a lofty building—abounding in apartments and commanding a large area; yet, after all—a pile. Its existence is attributed by oral tesimony to Salukar, a Sar-subá of Gujarát, on the part of the Peshwá's government, whose régime is said to have extended from 1794 to 1800. The completion of the building was entrusted to an execrable deputy by name Dádá Phalsíkar, during Salukar's absence at Puná: and the tradition runs, that the rule of this Sar-subá is so much anathematized and bitterly re-

membered, in consequence of Phalsíkar's proceedings. The grinding system adopted by the Egyptians towards the ancient Hebrews, so harrowingly recited in Biblical writ, appears to have been practically exemplified here, for Dádá Phalsikar is said to have removed the old ruins on this site, and, by means of painful oppression, to have furnished his master with a large building at a cheap rate. The materials, it is stated, were forcibly taken from the inhabitants; and their buildings even despoiled to effect his purpose: while the laborers were allowed but a few handfuls of parched rice as the recompence of their toil. One of many sad stories told of this infamous Maharáta, is, that he had a Frenchman, an adventurer, known by the name of Musá Ján, (which I presume to be M. JEAN) blown from the muzzle of a heavy piece of ordnance.

The Collectorate again is said to have been the site of the ancient Muhammadan palace, while a long low brick-wall, with innumerable out-offices, encompassing a fair space, announce their employment by the royal retinue. Prior to the Adhálat being built, the Maharáta Lords-Lieutenant took up their abode here; but the European appearance of the Katcharí (as it is now denominated) is attributed to the old remains being literally razed and re-built in its present form some time in 1820, under the superintendence of Captain T. REMON, of the Bombay Engineers. In the adjoining offices, used by the Magistracy and other branches of the Katcharí, skylights and ventilators have been introduced; the floor in most instances elevated, owing to the apartments having been originally the regal Hummám. The Majmudár of the Péshwá is said to have employed these as his granary; and the British upon their final occupation of the city for good, used them for offices and the opium warehouse. The Katcharí is about the prettiest building in Ahmedábád. In one of the adjoining godowns of the Collectorate is still shewn the carpet throne of the royal line of Jáka, the Hindu apostate who founded the Imperial dynasty of Ahmedádád—mouldy, ragged, and tarnished, unlike our ideas of the paraphernalia of the seat of sovereignty. To the south of the Katcharí is the royal garden, now per-

haps in happier condition than it has been for more than a century past,—for which the good folks are indebted originally to the botanical taste of the late Mr. J H. JACKSON, Civil Service, the Collector of the zilla: but ruins mark the old fountains, six of which used to play in every bed laid cross-wise towards the centre, from whence a large and (it is said) lofty reservoir—built upon for the gardener's habitation by the Maharáta dynasty—would spend its liquid force. The rarest and finest vegetables and fruit in the zilla are to be procured in this garden.

On the S. E. angle of the Badhr, and with the entrance from eastward, is the old Muhammadan *Maddrassa* (College,) converted into the great Jail of the district some time in 1820. For neatness and elegancy, and compactness in exterior, it does not possess its rival within the city or environs. The erection of this edifice is attributed to Alam Khán Gází, a Gujarát noble; and the year of its completion is given as A. H. 1046, corresponding with A. D. 1636, and during the reign of Shahái Jihán.

The great Jail of Ahmedábád—to adopt the designation now in vogue—has an elegant demi-octagon entry, with a heavy wooden portal, which leads into an octagonal lodge,—lofty, airy, and clean. A ribboned strip running above the entrance, has a Persian inscription in relievi, which furnishes the following information:—

1. The Protector of the people of the Universe under the shadow of the Almighty.
2. The Shahái Sáhíb Kirán Tímur the second, Shá-bu-dín Mahammad, king of kings.
3. The king of kings of the world, the great Akbár Hamáun-like—a Sultán and son of a Sultán.
4. From amongst his servants, one who is in soul and heart the obeyer of his mandate.
5. The glory of justice—Azím Khan the brave, whose sword is the life of the country.
6. He built in Gujarát a mansion, like which none in the world was made.
7. Wonderful edifice! its height is such as to tower to and above Kéwan in the firmament.
8. It is in beauty and taste like unto Paradise, and it is meet that the gatekeeper of paradise should be stationed here.
9. This Sarái and Palace is now completed by order of the Lord of Justice, the ready-monied amongst men.
10. Echo was solicited to furnish its date. A voice was heard, declaring 'The house of goodness and favour.'

Under the circumstances here set forth, the founder appears to have been a Government official. The inscription is on stone, and upon stone slabs; the sculpturing has been very chastely executed.

The Jail is a large open court parcelled into separate compartments containing cells—these compartments comprise a ground and first floor; the roof being terraced throughout, and where sentries constantly maintain guard.* In the centre of the courtyard is a covered reservoir, having sixteen brass-cocks, which are classed off to the various castes of men imprisoned: the cistern is from 12 to 14 feet either way, in length and breadth; and holds an abundant supply of water—sufficient, it is said, for the ordinary wants and washing supply of a thousand men daily. The cistern is filled by means of a Persian wheel (turned by means of a capstan and) worked about 300 yards beyond, on what is called the Mának Burj bastion, which stands on the very margin of the Sábarmátí river. The prisoners are employed in working this wheel for their own allowance of water, and to supply the reservoir between the Káranj and Thín Darwáza: the water is conveyed into the precincts of the jail by an open aqueduct along the southern face of the Badhr wall. There are sixty-four cells, varying in dimensions from ten to sixteen feet and from eighteen to twenty feet. These cells are ventilated by circular holes or windows, which are barred with iron in the back walls; the doorways are also partially barred for the sake of ventilation: and the closets are rendered free from obnoxious vapours by means of a covered drain, which leads from the prison to the several cess-pools erected at a short distance and to the rear of the Badhr; that it wholly destroys any effluvia that might otherwise prevail. This latter, it was remarked to me, is a recent improvement on the part of the municipal functionaries. Formerly all this ordure would make its way to the Sábarmátí near the Ráikar Darwáza, and apart from other annoyances, it was thought at times to contaminate the waters of the river. It had almost escaped me to mention

* The Maharátas, however, during their government, employed it as their arsenal, and where also they manufactured gunpowder.

that the Brámín and Banian (Vánía) prisoners do not make use of the water of the reservoir, from caste influences or rather prejudices; in consequence, a party comprising from 30 to 35 of these people may be seen (daily) of a morning proceeding to the waters' side, fettered, and guarded by half their number of peons,—procuring the supply for themselves and their brothers in crime.

The prisoners of the Ahmedábád jail are fed on bájrí flour, wheat, kíjrí and dál: they acknowledge they are kindly treated. And the spirit of truthful sarcasm, which will sometimes escape the most hardened, denominates the jail as the *mosál*, (the house of a father-in-law) where alone they fare equally well. Indeed, the jail here might happily and justly be taken as a model for other establishments of the kind: and though on a more extensive scale, the system pursued has had its origin with that so successfully accomplished for years at Surát.

Employment—that relief against indolence, and the safeguard to vicious thought—is agreeably arranged for the prisoners. In the first place, the grain for consumption is brought in its crude form into the jail, where it is rendered into flour by the criminals at the rate of 20lbs. per head; and until this is effected, the daily apportioned meal is withheld. Next; under a series of long, low, tiled, sheds, numbers may be seen at work in manufacturing coarse cloths of the dangarí discription; woollen sheets; tape, and a variety of other articles. Formerly, *kíncáb* (brocade) was fabricated; but the high price of the raw materials, and the equal value of labor—were unable to meet with their equivalent price; and this species of industry was abandoned.

The Jail Hospital is a lower-roomed terraced building, which unfortunately cannot be well ventilated, from the height of the Badhr walls,—but every arrangement towards care and comfort may be seen; with a distinct reservoir of water, having eleven cocks of brass, for the express purpose of the sick. Under the Maharáta Government, this place was set apart for the Customs' Department.

Adjoining the Hospital, and forming part of the same terraced roof, though a high brick wall has effectually partitioned the two,—is the Civil

or Debtors' Jail; to which entrance can only be had from the southward. Formerly the same gateway rocked its leaves to the inmates—Civil and Criminal,—but this arrangement has now been happily annihilated. Another—and an open—reservoir of water is here daily filled up from the Mánek Burj bastion.

There are twelve solitary cells—a punishment, I am aware, singularly dreaded by the natives.

There are six condemned cells, or, as the natives emphatically denominate them—*Living Tombs;* these are four by ten feet each in admeasurement.

Female prisoners are located in a small, dark, portion of the Jail; where the sun is only seen in his meridian height for a brief interval, and in the narrow, long, lofty courtyard—10 by 20 feet; accommodation can only be given to a few, and upon any large accession to their numbers they are removed to Kairá. In this instance, I discovered the only exception to the most agreeable and politic prison discipline.

One of the native regiments at the station daily furnishes fifty rank and file, with drum and fife, under command of a native commissioned officer: they are relieved at break of day. All the approaches to the jail are vigilantly watched; and along the terraced roof at regulated distances sentries may be seen maintaining their lonely guard.

Having completed a close and pleasing inspection of the various economy of this model gaol, I was conducted by my cicerone, by means of a flight of broad stone steps, into the spacious vaulted refuge beneath the great gateway. It is ventilated by slits in the stout wall. This appears to have been originally the resort of the scholars during the hot months: no use is now made of the place. A number of bats and frogs were gambolling upon our intrusion hither.

After a lapse of three hours, I quitted the jail: I need scarcely add the gratification it afforded me, or it promises to such studious minds who regard these buildings as the embryo institutions to many useful habits

being inculcated among natives, who are frequently unacquainted with any means of subsistence adequate to their pride, or rather pretensions, and consequently driven to crime.

To the left, I turned into the recess occupied by Kálí Mátá, an *avátar* of Víshnu, with her necklace of human skulls as horribly bedaubed with red pigment as her whole person. Numbers of devotees were entering and departing, during the few moments I lingered by her shrine. She was placed here by the Maharátas, and has become the fashionable deity of the Hindus of Ahmedábád, from the very simple circumstance that she occupies her present conspicuous site leading into the vicinity of the Katcherí and Adhálat: every suitor—in superstitious regard—on his way to these offices makes his vow here; hence the popularity of this Indian Bellona.

The Maharáta governor built several temples in the Badhr, and endowed them largely: some of these pensions are continued by the British administration. Rámjí and Krishná Mandír, built by Bhaváni Sívrám—grant of a yearly allowance of Rs. 1273. Vittoba Mandír, built by Káká Sáhíb; receives Rs. 487 annually.

The southwest quarter of the Badhr is occupied by Maharáta families of sepoys, the progeny of the adherents of the Peshwá's government. The Badhr was thickly inhabited upon our taking possession of Ahmedábád in a civil capacity; very shortly after, however, a destructive fire occurred, which consumed the larger portion of the natives' dwellings, and upon the representation of the then Judge of the Zíllá—Mr. W. A. Jones—the Government very discreetly set apart for the natives, plots of ground without the precincts of the ancient citadel: the Badhr is now pretty clear of such nuisance, and there is a promise of its being sensibly scoted before many years.

10*th January*.—The city has been ringing the last few days (in consequence of disclosures made by the Komasvidar) with the extensive system of Female Infanticide prevalent among the Lewá *Kunbis*—the substantial farmers of the country—resident both in the British and Gáikawád

territories. The principal scene, however, of their occupation is the *Charotar*, a large tract of land lying between Kairá and the mouth of the Mihí. These people appear to be intolerantly wedded to the prejudices of their forefathers, particularly in point of marriage, and in the absence of sufficient means to endow their female offspring upon a matrimonial alliance, resort to the silent yet efficacious means of destroying them, by a gradual withdrawal of nourishment, and the ordinary care due the sustenance of life. It would seem that the general dowry expected, upon betrothal, from the parents of the girl, averages between one and two thousand rupees, and where such funds are wanting, the child continues in a state of celibacy, and the father earns disrepute for her condition.

Considering the monetary position of the Kunbís, and the enormous rate at which a dowry is set,—the odium, too, attendant upon the household of the female,—it is not singular that the Kunbís should avail of some resource to obviate the difficulty in their path; and the course pursued, prevents that criminal notice being taken of the matter which violent means would demand. The Lewá Kunbís appear to muster fifty thousand souls, and the proportion of males to females is estimated in the ratio of ten to one: celibacy among the men is in consequence very general, and the cry is bitter towards remedying their present unfortunate situation. The amiable collector of the zilla—Mr. EDWARD GORDON FAWCETT—is said to have very humanely interested himself in their behalf with the Government, and his intimate acquaintance with the native character, will, it is hoped, lead to an meliorationa of things.*

* Lewá and Karwá Kunbís, consult an oracle at Unjá between Karí and Síd'pur on the Dísá road—it is known as the shrine of Ambá Devi. Among the Karwá Kunbis, marriages are formed once in ten or twelve years according to the appointed interval signified by the ministers of the oracle—generally, the time of the Sun entering a particular sign of the Zodiac. On this occasion, thousands flock to the temple, when upon a given signal—the clapping of hands frequently—which is intently watched by the multitude, the nuptial knot is tied, though the matrimonial ceremonies are not completed for several days afterwards.

Female infanticide has won the notice of many of those brilliant diplomatists who have had to employ their talent in the wily atmosphere of Gujaráshtrá. Within the like compass, perhaps not another province of mundane existence will be found, comprising such a variety of castes, and clans, and creeds, who, under conflicting religious elements, contrive to intermingle in the every-day avocations of life. The politician has in consequence to grope his way from the proud Rajput, vain of his descent, which Hindu polity places in the first rank of social existence; the consequential Thákur, fendal baron of his soil, who permits of no interference upon his domains; to the wild Kátí, the treacherous Kolí, the erratic Brínjhárí—who all hold sacred the equitable alliance in birth, position, and wealth, the pomp and pageantry necessary for their nuptial celebration: hence the sad evil, British rule has to bewail within its fostering Government. I have said the politician has to grope his way amid these strange people, and the task is no easy one with all the arguments attempted to upset it:—in the presence of custom to support, and priests to maintain the continued destruction, I know of no happy suggestion which has as yet been rendered patent to the world upon this particular point. Before the close of the last century, FORBES chaunts the pœans of JONATHAN DUNCAN* as the annihilator of infanticide: the late Colonel WALKER† justly earns the panegyric passed upon his measures by as able an Indian statesman—the Honorable Mr. POLLARD WILLOUGHBY; but I do not well understand the object of treaties only made to be violated, and of the existence of fines whose imposition must remain anomalous. Years have elapsed since the Colonel's administration: it were natural to enquire whether any improvement has ensued with the pecuniary threats held out, and the response is broadly and clearly given by the categorical negative.

* "Infanticide has, within these few years, been exterminated in Guzerát, and thousands of happy mothers, in all succeeding ages, when caressing their infant daughters, will bless the name of DUNCAN." FORBES'S *Oriental Memoirs.*

† "The philanthrophic WALKER, who so earnestly laboured to extinguish the custom (and who erroneously believed he had been the saviour of the fair of Catch.)" TOD'S *Travels in Western India.*

It has been already observed, that silent yet efficacious means are adopted without criminality being attached thereto; I will take the pains to recite one or two of several prevailing schemes. Folks in humble life who have been married at the expence of the male partner incurring debts to effect this purpose, (and it is too common a case), have a girl born to them; they have to struggle between their maintenance and the liquidation of their liabilities at the very time of this child's appearance. The prospect of discharging the debt is remote, and the fact of betrothal of their infant appears, and is indeed, more nigh; a dowry is necessary—and the bitter conflict, the battle of life, then commences, whether the offspring is to exist at the cost of their ignominy, if she should survive the desired period without the requisite funds appearing, or increased difficulties, and ultimately disrepute being earned. The *finale* is simple; the doom of the little lass is arranged: and one maternal parent often salutes another with the ominous yet well understood expressions—"I have given it its milking"—"I have afforded it its rest." The ordinary acceptation of the phrases would present the daily purposes of humanity, but the *double entendre* veils—death! Either a chaldron or smaller vessel in which brute milk and water are equally mixed, receives the infant, who partakes of its surfeit to destruction; or a pill of opium effects the desired end. The fact is lamentable—is true—and needs remedy. But the imposing obstacle is, how the evil is to be met—socially, criminally, or in a religious point of view. Taking the last instance first, with all the enslaving disposition of Hindu priestcraftry, and its pliant tendency to promote the views of any Government,—it must in some instances be lamentably thwarted by men however habited, are indifferent in a body to other than personal aggrandizement, the over-weening error of Hinduism! It would be unkind to level this shaft at a profession—with all the absurdities of its faith—

among whom must exist many amiable and thoroughly good men, who are enthralled by the folly of their forefathers: but, there are others again, who, despite these cognate tenets, are reckless to every but a selfish aim. The principle, too, is a dangerous one, for whatever its present spiritual influence, as a political appliance, it would only render a class of men not insensible to their position among their countrymen, to be more than alive to their condition as the engines of the ruling power. Dismissing this point:—to notice *criminally*, what is the fruit of error and poverty, is an absolute safeguard to the wealthy to fence their resources and to raise the barrier existing between man and man, though of one caste. Taking the severest and unhappiest punishment enforced by the legislature, the query suggests itself whether its presence would blunt the prevailing fashion (not the passion) for infanticide? It is just this peculiar principle which is evaded by the present course pursued, and I have little hesitation in stating, that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it would continue *not proven* against the culprits, and the evil be as active as heretofore. Death—from the pre-disposition to fatalism in the indigenous sons of India, whether Muslim or Hindu, however exotic the original extraction—is not that condign state regarded with such horror, even when ignominiously produced; and though it may be deemed some check, the strong arm of the law will not crush what it would characterise as crime. It may be thus contended, equally well, for imprisonment; whoever has visited Mufasíl gaols, and ascertained of those intimately conversant with the native character, will learn that penury has driven most to crime for an asylum thither, and that those who have once been within their precincts are the very creatures desirous to return, and too frequently found to spin out existence in those dark strongholds of misdemeanour to our moral perception. The hundreds of *jamábandí* reports furnished in seasons of fanime would alone bear out the foregoing

statement. The favorite argument, however, is in advocacy of a *social* relief; and though the most plausible and happy suggestion, the query consists in the intention of Government being the bankers of the country for these folk in supplying them with a fixed minimum dowry to be paid under eligible securities. If the present quota of Rs. 2000, or whatever it may be, were to approximate to two hundred rupees or even less—would it still reduce the evil? I fear not. The benefit may be partial, momentary ; but there will be many who would continue to find the dowry an oppression—whether the funds appear from the coffers of the State or an usurer: and celibacy be as rife as ever, apart from violated engagements and increased pecuniary difficulties among a mass, instead of as heretofore, a confined circle.

Regard the matter in whatever way one will, the present case of the Kunbís is wholly opposed to the misfortunes of the Jhadíjás: in the one instance, it is a moral blight produced by extravagant inclinations and prevalent penury—in the other, custom has rendered it almost a sacred obligation. How this barbaric principle is to be mitigated, it were vain almost to divine: that it must be eradicated by themselves, and from among themselves, there is little doubt. In no country with a soil so fertile, natural resources so abundant, and means so readily acquired, does there exist so small a comparative population, so much slothfulness, and intense hereditary pride—as in Gujarát! Among a class so useful, active, and persevering, it is heart-rendering to regard the almost cenobitish life pursued, and it is ardently to be hoped that at no remote period some happy means will be discovered to lessen the present ills endured by Lewá and Karwá Kunbís. This state of things has led to the introduction of a caste crime, where Kolí women (widows) are enticed by vagabonds from Ahmedábád to Baroch and the country adjacent: this description of marriage is called *náthra*, or a widow's fresh alliance. The woman subsequently jilts her husband by quit-

ting him with the jewels &c. presented her. The plot is invariably contrived by a Brámin, and for a gratuity. *Dhánd*—is a term of reproach, signifying 'the wifeless,' applied to bachelors.

I sincerely wish that this error were merely limited to them, but it appears to have more extensive scope than would really be credited. Among the Mísrí community, ever so numerous as may be the members of a family, and however penurious their situation, the parents are expected to bestow feasts upon the occasions of marriage and death occurring in a household: the consequence is too apparent. Affecting the population, the industry, and the good, of the country—apart from other moral indications,—it is truly necessary that some stern ameliorating measure will effect what gentle or winning efforts will not produce.

But what the philanthropist has justly occasion to dilate upon with happy indignation, the statesman can only regard with a severity of heart and judgment, which must neutralize many humane anticipations. He will have to turn the mind's eye to past illustrations in support of future arrangement, and if the celebrated edict of Constantine should be remembered, it would at least shew—that a "promise may be too liberal, and a provision too vague, to effect any general or permanent benefit."*

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Chap. XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

PIRANA—Hírá Bhág—Mausoleum of Daría Khán—Masjíds.

15th January.—I have had to employ not a little ingenuity in rendering myself conversant with the nice distinctions subsisting between the Siads and Kákás, who separately control the ceremonial and financial arrangements of the PIRANA mosks and mausolea. These buildings are situated nearly ten miles to the south-west and by south of the city and in the village of Garántá: from the Lálí bangalá (the mid-stage from Kairá to Ahmedábád) they are almost due west and about six miles and a half: indeed were I aware that they could be visited from the latter quarter, I would certainly have given it the preference instead of the wearisome and longer jaunt.

The principal shrines here are dedicated to Imám Shahái, Shek Sharíf, and Bákar Alí. The last saintly personage died only three years ago: the purity of his life, however, does not appear to have affected the prurient taste of the Muslim for the seraglio, since he had left a couple of widows without issue; one lady was a native of some Ráfzí Bohorá tribe, the other a Siadání named Arus Begam, who wrested the government over the revenues of the Pírána establishment upon their husband's death. The Ráfzí wife appears to have died a very short time back, so that Arus Begam has now the sole supremacy. The secular duties, however, are conducted by Bákar Alí's nephew (on his sister's side) as superior over the Siads, and who receives a tithe of all contributions. Husan Míyáh is said to be vain, if not powerful, enough to entertain pretensions to the local gadí; he is a young man, perhaps at most of thirty years of age. Dissensions naturally exist among the members of a family, and their followers, where wealth is to

be acquired or at stake; and in consequence, money is lavishly spent upon hirelings and favorites, who side with either contesting party: the present case may be instanced of this popular axiom. The revenues and voluntary contributions acquired here, are estimated at above, rather than below, a lák of rupees annually.

Within the vicinity of the shrines is a commodious dwelling-house upon an elevated site, and which affords a commanding prospect of the adjacent country—presenting a richly wooded world, with all the majestic features of an English park. There are also three *Sadháwaraths* or charitable resorts, where visitors and mendicants are fed at the charge of the revenue.

I have already mentioned the Siads and Kákás—a third class of devotees is to be found here, known as *Murids* (disciples,) composed indiscriminately of both Muhammadan and Hindu: I will proceed to allude to them in seriatim order. The Siads of Pírána claim their ancestry from Imám Shahái (whose history is so wrought in fable, that rather than urge a garbled and dangerous genealogy I will content myself with the reproach of carelessness in enquiry,) the founder of the establishment; and by a singular provision, believed by the credulous as of heavenly dispensation, they have contrived for generations, never to exceed sixty in number—hence the belief that the birth of an additional male soul is counterbalanced by the death of some one of the members of the community. The Siads at one time had the control of the finances as well as the ceremonials of the fane, —but petty jealousies and vexatious feuds had fanned the flame so high that a third party, independant of their class, was solicited to interfere; and hence the Kákás being entrusted with the monetary arrangements with the mutual consent, and at the instance, of the belligerent Siads: of course, certain stipulations were provided for their maintenance, and the *et ceteras* concomitant upon such a compact. But the means which roused animosities among themselves were passed into the hands of men, who, if possessing the leisure and the capacity to attend to the fiscal relations of the shrines, were

also sensible of the power with which they were invested; and a trifling ferment rendered the Siads so dependant upon the Chief Káká, that he insisted upon their seeking their own livelihood, and several consequently entered the Gáikawád Cavalry and the Gujarát Irregular Horse. Further annoyances led them, in December last, to expel Shámji Káká, and to appeal to the British magistrates of Ahmedádád for protection and succour against unwarrantable infringements and unmerited degradations.

The Kákás (from the Persian *Káká*, importing a slave) have taken up their abode in the proximity of the fane and mausoleum of Imám Shahái: they had originally settled here as attendants upon the shrine, lending, by their presumed sanctity and austere lives as fakírs, one of the many charms sought and gratefully owned by Muhammadans. About forty of them are always immediately about Pirána, and in the event of casualties occurring among them, the number is made up from recruits of their force at Ahmedábád. It must be urged for the Kákás, that their lives are as exemplary as their professions would infer: an admission readily conceded by both Muslím and Hindu—their friends and foes. They are recognized by their singular garb, composed of a light orange-tinged kerchief with which the head is bound, sometimes exchanged for a cap of that color—a turban never being assumed: the *Angrakhá* is also composed of cloth of the (Bhagvá, or) same hue: and the *Dhotí* is worn round the loins. They are obliged to maintain celibacy. In consequence of their freedom from the ordinary cares of life, they were esteemed by the Siads as the happiest selection for the management of the monetary affairs of the Pirána establishment; the Kákás were not backward in accepting the proffered service. To the abuse of the power entrusted to them, I have already alluded: yet, even with the prevailing discord, the Kákás command considerable power in the internal economy and conduct of the Pírána temples and tombs, quite as well as in the appropriation of the funds among the dependants. The predecessor of the present chief of the Kákás, by name Náthu, is said to have been very popular among all classes resorting hither, for his mild

and forbearing disposition; and is characterized as a' *faithful disciple:* whereas Shámjí, the present head, is dreaded as a disciplinarian, and it was his violent conduct a few weeks ago which afforded such umbrage to the Siads as to occasion their resorting to the police of Ahmedábád.

The third and last class of devotees at these shrines are the *Murids:* who are reputed to muster in considerable number in the province of Katch. In this class are both Muhammadans and Hindus; who, however at variance upon other points, are unanimous in their adoration here. During the Maharáta Government these unfortunate men were sorely persecuted, and in consequence hundreds fled to Balásínor, where numerous families continue to reside: their entrance into the city of Ahmedábád was only to be effected by heavy bribes or a painful tax, and subsequently the fine imposed upon this permission ranged between five and six hundred rupees upon the head of the community. No state reason could occasion this heavy penalty, for the Pírána murids neither engaged in warfare nor plunged themselves into political intrigues; and the only reason to be deduced for this offensive precaution, is the antipathy entertained by the Maharátas to the religious schism. The murids pay extraordinary veneration to the sepulchres of Shek Sharíf and Bákar Alí—now known as Bákar Shahái; and their donations are reputed to be not inconsistent with their piety. A strange custom prevails among these murids (of both classes) in not partaking of an ordinary Oriental dish known as *kíjrí*; the custom appears to have sprung in consequence of Bákar Alí's dislike to the meal. The saint however is stated to have assembled all his murids on one occasion, and solicited their unburthening themselves of the self-imposed penance, but the disciples would not permit the courtesy of their spiritual governor to be outrivalled by their sense of his goodness, and urged that the favor may be passed into a restriction in token of worth and piety. The tale after all may be of fictitious birth, but its history is too recent, and the custom is proverbial with the Murids; I now communicate it upon paper rather to exhibit the powerful influence of a good man among a tribe of demi-civi-

lized creatures than to display a subordinate feature in the characteristics of this race. At the *Sadháwaraths*, the *Moman* (or Musalmán murid's) allowance is a seer of plain kíjrí and a pice worth of ghí, which is always to be had prepared for him: the Hindu disciple, is permitted dry rations, and the required assistance given him to cook his meal.

The Moman bury their dead in compliance with Muhammadan ritual; the Hindu murid again burn their members, reserving the upper joint of the forefinger of the right hand for sepulture within the vicinity of these shrines. A large space of the great court-yard abounds in Lilliputian grave-stones of a span in length which cover these singular remains. Upon the death of a Hindu murid, the particular portion of the finger is severed, and deposited with considerable solemnity in *attar* of roses or sandalwood, when it is forwarded with no little pomp, accompanied by a fee of fifty rupees, to its final resting-place: at the intermediate stages, the vessel is received by the Pírána adherents with what is deemed becoming grief—the presence of tears, violent expressions of sorrow, beating of breasts, and other like oriental tokens,—and the obsequies performed only enhance the farce maintained from clipping the human joint to entombment in its charnel-house. Like ceremony is undergone for the women of this strange tribe. The view entertained by these people respecting this frivolous, if not inhuman, proceeding, is, that it is a propitiatory sacrifice to their tutelar saint, and becoming their vows at the altars of Pírána. The chief portion of this Hindu-murid clan, is of the Káchía caste—the great vegetable venders of Ahmedábád; and almost all the Moman are engaged at the hand-loom in weaving either silk or cotton: so that the saints of Pírána have a promise of prolonged remembrance when the industry of the country is found to bend so willingly to their yoke. Balásínor, Ahmedábád and its suburbs, and the fair land of Kach, supply the largest number of these flowers.

The shrines of Pírána are remarkable for the loftiness of their domes, if not for the solidity and the elegance of their construction. Forbes, however, can never allude to a masjíd of Ahmedábád without

invoking the presence of Gothic architecture and the stained windows of European cathedrals. I can well conceive his ignorance of the glass manufactories of Kaparwanj ; and better still of the glorious remains of Chandrávatí unfolded long years afterwards by Tod, and delineated by the elegant pencil of Mrs. Hunter Blair. The speculations of later times have assigned the existence of European ecclesiastical structures to the twelfth century—when sprung the noble fanes of York and Cologne, and many another grand, magnificent, sublime, creation of the architect. Colonel Tod, with antiquarian spirit, indulges in a rhapsody of the Gothic arch having its origin in India,—but no Indu-Saracenic (as it is denominated) system of architecture existed before the thirteenth century at the very earliest; and even this supposition is abandoned by the student who will not own aught but tangible facts. Similar thoughts will present like results, however remote the scenes of action from each other,—however various and singular and divided the climes, the manners, and the lives, of either race of people : thus the brick arch of the Ahmedábád fanes is coeval with the German construction; yet a very recent writer (a Prussian) will have his native system purely ecclesiastical, when the fortifications and the tenements, quite as well as the temples of Muslim, possessed them indiscriminately and simultaneously. Singularly too, the stained windows which now adorn Christian cathedrals, was borrowed from the Murish designs of the Alhámbrá; and glass was manufactured and used in the north of Gujarát long before its similar employment in the household of Europeans. These are startling facts, but not the less true ; and with our self-love to own many of the improvements in the arts and sciences, we frequently forget the benefits and improvements suggested to us by foreign hands.

But the progress of Western influence in the East has apparently deadened the original taste of both Muslim and Hindu, for, if their modern fanes are equally extensive in space with past erections, they are wholly devoid of the genius and decorations which belong to past generations; nor has this blank been supplied by a chaster if not a more rigid school of

design: thus the patch-work of the old Ahmedábád masjíds is more than compensated by the happy admixture of Jáina labor in an architecture equally isolated and beautiful. To adopt the language of Tod—"With all "their incongruities, we must nevertheless admire the perseverance and "skill which have surmounted the difficulties of rearing Saracenic super-"structures over a Hindu stylobate, without shocking the eye. A more "powerful contrast could scarcely be furnished than exists between Mooslem "and Hindu architecture;—the one. pointed, lofty, airy; the other compact, "massive, dignified; and I can imagine were it put to the vote, that the Is-"malite style would have the majority of suffrages, especially if association "were discarded: though, as with the Grecian and the Gothic, each will "ever have its admirers. Viewed as a picture, the dark shades from the deep-"indented masses of the Hindu, give a more solemn aspect, and are more in "accordance with the sable sky of a monsoon, laughing to scorn the power "of the tempests which play around its piramidal *síkrá* (spire); while the "domed mosque and its fairy minarets, towering to the skies, appear most "to advantage when nature is at rest, or when the sun-beam from a cloud-"less vault plays unrestrained on the marble dome or through the painted "casement."

Thus the shrine of Bákar Alí or Bákar Shahái, the latest construction among the Pirána edifices, is the most commodious, but certainly not equal to that of Imam Shahái's in elegance. Bákar is said to have expended upwards of a lák of rupees (£10,000 stg.) in the buildings formed here during his life time. His nephew resides in the Kálapur division of the city of Ahmedábád, near the *Pánchpatí*.

The Pirána rozas are certainly worth a visit to the tourist: to others perhaps the distance would prove a drawback to any extraordinary amusement that might be anticipated.

18*th January*.—Drove out of the Délhí Darváza towards the famed Hira Bhag—*the Diamond Gárden*,—formerly in the occupation of Dr. Henry Johnstone (Civil Surgeon,) who left Ahmedábád about four years

ago ; when he disposed of his remaining interest in the property to a wealthy Hindu. The ground was originally laid out with several fine walks, along which were planted fruit trees of every variety indigenous to the country, or exotics favorable to the climate and soil: at the present time, its oranges of the celebrated *Santhrá* species, pamelo (better known as shaddock,) and the Levantine sour lime, are still superior to any like productions to be had in the zillá, or even in India. The garden is now over-run with weeds, while no fostering hand affords the pruning-knife to the wild luxuriance of the orchard ; and the rich collection of plants and flowers which the Doctor's botanical taste had lavishly cultivated in every desirable direction, have either been ruthlessly torn up, or allowed to run waste from their very wantonness of growth. Even the garden-house—once the scene of many a happy picnic party—participates in the ruin around, its dilapidated condition being not many removes from entire destruction.

The Government some years ago extended its assistance to the Doctor in granting him allotments of ground, and conceded pecuniary support with a view of experimental improvements upon the local indigo—a spurious offspring of the Kándes genus,—but he unfortunately failed in carrying out his efforts so successfully as he had desired or anticipated, from the instinctive aversion of the natives towards destruction of animal life. The machinery used was originally the property of the opulent firm of Messrs. Gilder, De Souza & Co., which wound up its affairs nearly a quarter of a century ago, and whose members gave the earliest stimulus to the growth of the plant. Vats are to be found in all the villages eight or ten miles to the East of Ahmedábád, but Indigo is not now manufactured, since Afghánís can import a superior description of staple, and undersell the rates of the local article within a wide margin. The late Dr. Gilder, senior partner of the firm already mentioned, first introduced European Madapollams and Yarns into this part of Gujarát, which gave the death-blow to the manufacturing interests of the country; and these have ever since maintained the denomination of *Doctherí* in the Ahmedábád bazár. Mr. John Vaupell,

who was also a member of this commercial house, is well known to the botanical world and to Orientalists for his profound acquaintance with the dialects of the country. Dr. JOHNSTON also laid out extensive Mulberry plantations for silk culture, in which he failed as well from local difficulties. The Egyptian sesame was likewise attempted, with other foreign grains, but with equal disadvantages.

Quitting Hirá Bhág, I next made way to a stupendous dome formed of brick and lime work, intended as a Sarcophagus over the remains of DARIA KHAN, which repose under a mean tomb in the centre of the building, and in an inner quadrangle with four great arches. It is raised upon a square of forty-three paces a side and five lofty arches in each surrounding veránda, each arch commanding a square compartment. There is nothing to recommend this structure beyond the height of the dome and the great solidity of the walls—fully nine feet in thickness: the concave of the dome was unfortunately darkened with the flock of pigeons seeking its shelter. Daríá Khán,* a licentious nobleman of Persian origin, was a Vazír in the Court of Máhmud Bígadá; where his tortuous transactions led to the sobriquet, by which he is now known, as king of the *Bhuts*, (Imps of Darkness.) There is a tradition that this building was erected by him during his life time, and that upon its completion, the saintly Shaháí Alam was solicited to beatify it with his presence, upon which occasion the Muslím Divine is said to have remarked that the edifice appeared a fitting asylum for Bhuts—hence the origin of this epithet. Be this as it may—the day before *Diwáli* (the Hindu New Year, and Feast of Lanterns,) hundreds flock hither and make sacrifice; awaiting the hour of midnight, when his Satanic Majesty is supposed to visit his resting-place. Hundreds declare to having seen him: and upon his assumed departure, the crowd disperse. The date of this erection, by the *Mírat Ahmádá*, is A. H. 857.

* He must not be confounded with a namesake equally talented and abandoned, who played his part in the reign of Máhmud the Second of Gujarát, and of the royal line of the founder of Ahmedábad. Vide, BIRD'S *History of Gujarát*.

19*th January*.—The Christian stranger who treads along the paved corridors, and beneath the fretted domes, of each mosk, winds his way between chaste column and elaborate peristyle; peeps through

—"Lattice closely laced
With filagree of choice design"* ;

and, in fine, bends below the gorgeous Indu-Saracenic sculpture indicative of Muslim glory—and what has happily been called the Indu-Norman invasion; will acutely feel the throes of torture and agony and pride in a power now no longer alive in the land. No one masjid resembles another, and yet at a glance you would instantly decide upon the description of fane: without the progressive honor of the Roman St. Peter's, there is not the prospect of realizing even the sliding influence which St. Sophia of Constantinople owns.† The history of one is the tale to be told of all, excepting the erections of regal magnificence; benevolent piety blended with superstitious alarm or obligation, have in every instance wrought the existence of these decaying temples. Mosk or Mausolea—equally alike the origin of the founder and foundation are known by legendary lore :—and, beneath the vault of heaven and beside their wretched habitations, the descendants of the one, and hereditary proprietors of the other, may be found of an evening, reciting to friends and kinsmen the tales of their house—whether of valiant prowess, or gorgeous trophy, or princely munificence. Gay in misfortune, though the possessors of the vilest influences which seek refuge in the human breast,—they wile their days in that playfulness of thought and anecdote which belongs to every sunny land, from Andalusia

* R. M. MILNES, Esq., M. P.

* The CALCUTTA REVIEW (Vol. IV. p. 503), furnishes the following *morceau*. "The Rev. Dr. BUCHANAN was also a frequent visitor at Aldeen, (the residence of the Venerable DAVID BROWN, Senior Chaplain on the Bengal establishment) and it was there that the rough sketch of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India, which he embodied and published in a separate pamphlet on his arrival in England, was repeatedly brought under discussion; it was at one of these friendly meetings that Dr. MARSHMAN asked him where he expected to obtain funds for the endowment of the establishment: on which he replied, that the temple lands would answer for the Churches, and the Brahmans' lands for the ministers. To which Dr. MARSHMAN replied with deep emphasis: 'you will never never obtain them, Dr BUCHANAN.'"

and Italy to this brighter and more sultry clime; hence those exquisite ballads and romances—that passion for everything in which the most delicate fancy is employed, from the deeds of 'the Cid' and Gonzagas, the Borgias and Medici, to these of a local value here.

Yet how bitter to pace the solitude, the more than solitude—forgetfulness—which exists here! Whence that anxiety for admiration, for fame, which leads every wealthy individual to build unto his household the family masjíd of his generation? Engrave it on brass—and the hand of time will efface the characters; trace it upon the sand beach of the Ocean, and the flowing tide will wash away the idea: these elder temples now moulder, their architects are made dust of the dust; where the splendour of thought, the magnificence of execution—grovelling hope, perishable clay? Mark a few of these in wandering through Ahmedábád—once the pride of the Muslim, and the sad historian of their penury.

Still, who would dare to dispute as these masjíds sprang into existence, that Musalmán creed doubted other than that—'*Mahomed est legatus Deí, qui misil eum cum doctrina et religione vera quo eam extollerat super religiones omnes si vel refragarentur associantes.*' Here is the result of that passionate creed which idealizes its spiritual essence—unbosoms in the gross appetites of earth, a celestial harmony accordant with the fancy of their hárim: hence, the devout belief in the tenets of their faith; the rigid practice of its observances, and the hope anticipated in the erection of these fanes by propitiating the Deity of their Kurán. Never was there Human Legislator who so accurately tested and ascertained the infirmities of his race—as Muhammad; and, never was Prophet who so well understood the proneness of humanity to the frailties of life, not to encourage its natural aptitude. Nor will that sublime parallel of Sherlock lose any of its value, when we remember the intelligent fraud perpetrated by an exquisite legerdemain in transfusing an inspired belief into that compilation which sprang at the hands of Muhammad.

In the city and without it—in lanes, streets, and walks—in gardens, beside tanks, and within the vicinity of cemeteries—wherever the pomp of life or the beauty of nature—amid the busy hum of men and the rich harmony of rural scenery,—there will the Muslím fane be found. Among a host such, the tourist can only furnish a small collection, and these wholly —the only ones worthy a visit. The most conspicuous of these is the masjíd (and gambaj) of Shahái Alam, the son of Kutbe Alam of Batwá, a contemporary of the founder of the city of Ahmedábád; and to whose history I have already made allusion. Shahái Alam is said to have resided on the site where his remains are now interred; the roza is a handsome structure of sand-stone, the walls of the inner chamber being elaborately cut in open lattice-work. The grave-stone is of marble, with a lattice-worked rail of the same material: while a number of ostrich's eggs are hung around. The place for prayer is situated to the westward of the Pír's tomb: it is a neat erection; and remarkable for two very lofty mínárs on either wing of its entrance. The minar to the north is in dangerous condition from the effects of the earthquake of June 1819; apart from being infested with bats, whose excrements have rendered it unapproachable: that toward the south is in fair order, and from its summit a commanding prospect of the campagna and city is obtained. The concave of domes of the mosk abounds in the nests of swallows, which renders the floor filthy, but the Siads will not disturb these colonies, from a superstitious idea that swallows only build in localities which do not rapidly fall to ruin—in other words, places of great stability! So easy is it to practice upon the credulously disposed. The descendants of Shahái Alam are known under the simple appellation of Shahái, in contradistinction to the descendants of the Batwá folks, who are denominated Kutbe Siads. Shahái Alam died on the 20th of Jumádal Akhar, A. H. 880, at the advanced age of 63.*

* "In the year of Hijrá 800, A. D. 1475-6, Hazrát Sháh Alam, the glory of the saints, died; and "his tomb which exists in Rasulábád, was built by the instructions of Nariatí, one of the nobles of distin- "guished rank at Court." BIRD'S *History of Gujarát*. There is some oversight here.

Referring to the *Mírat Ahmádí*, as well as to the history of the Shahái Alam family, it appears that the dome over the tomb of the good saint, was built by the orders, and at the expence, of Táj Khán, a Gujarát noble of the time of Mahmud Bígadá, and in the year A. H. 938: stones were brought from a great distance it is said, but the precise locality is not mentioned: it took ten years to complete the dome. A century after, its interior was gilded, and otherwise beautifully ornamented with that lively blue known as Lapis Lazulí, by Asaf Khán, the Vazír of the Emperor Jahangír and brother of the celebrated Sultána Nur Jíhán. The masjíd was raised by Muhammad Sálah Badakshí (from his birthplace Badakshán in Tartary): the minarets again were commenced at the instance of Níjábat Khán, who did not live to finish them; but the work was prosecuted and completed by Sef Khán—the same person who built the hospital and college, the entrance to which in its Anglicised form I now occupy. The wife of Táj Khán Nírpolí built the tank to the west of the masjíd: it possesses several flights of stone steps. The reservoir was named Mustáfa Ser. The *Jamát-Khána* (place of assembly) lies to the north of Shahái Alam's roza, and is said to have been erected by Muzáffír Shahái, the last king of Gujarát, in conjunction with the Sef Khán just mentioned: this hall is forty *gaj* in length and breadth, and tradition has it that it formerly owned a wooden roof and was tiled. The original property, it was remarked, was almost entirely destroyed by General GODDARD; the materials having been used for the seige of Ahmedábád: at present it is in good order, and the roof terraced.

While the Muhammadan power prevailed in Gujarát, the shrine of Shahái Alam was very liberally endowed; but many of its glebes were wrested by foreign hands in their ascendancy hither: at present, the shrine possesses but the following four villages—Wásna Bujrag near Mátar, in the Kairá zíllá, and Sársá, Isanpur, and Wásna, in the Ahmedábád collectorate; they are under the superintendence of Imám Baksh the chief Siad.

A stone Masjíd in the Rasulpur road in Ilímpurá, without the city wall of Ahmedábád. Built by Vazír Málék Alam bín Nurí Kabír, in the time of Naurodín Ahmed Shahái, the founder of the city, on the 19th of Muharram, A. H. 826.

A stone Masjíd in Bíbípurá near Rájpur : built by *Magdumí Jahán* (Lady of the world) with the consent of her father Ahmed Sultán, the grandson of the great Ahmed Shah. Date Rabbé-ul-Ahkar, A. H. 858.

A stone Masjíd, situated near the Khánu Darváza, now known as the Káru ka Darváza, (this gate was situated about fifty paces to the south of the Káranj, but the arch fell a few years ago—the stones of the haunches of the arch are still to be seen,) was built by Maleh Sharif, known at court as *Farhatul Mulk* (keeper of quietness,) in the reign of Sultán Méhmud Sání, son of Sultán Latíf Sháh bin Sultán Kalíl Khan, known as from Sultán Muzaffar Halím, who was from the descendants of Sultán Ahmed the founder of Ahmedábád, A. H. 945.

A stone Masjíd in Alímpurá, on the road to Shah Alam's mosk, built by Vazirul Mamálík Malik Alam, in the time of Mahmud Shah surnamed Bigadá, 19th of Muharram, A. H. 826.

A stone Masjíd with one and a half minaret, situated in Dowlat Kháná (between the Ráipur and Sárangpur gates inside,) built by Shék Muhammad Gwalíorí in the reign of Sultán Muhammad Sahíd (the martyr), A. H. 970. The *Mírat-i-Síkandarí* gives A. H. 1009.

A stone Masjíd near Shahái Bhag, and in what was originally denominated Magsudpur, now Multánpur; built by Málík Magsud Vazír-ul-mulk, the brother of Malík Baháudín called *Imád-ul-mulk* (Pillar of State), in the reign of Sultán Nasrudín Abul Fatéh, Muhammad Sháh bín Muhammad Sháh bín Sultán Ahmed, founder of Ahmedábád, A. H. 870. This masjíd was built for Míah Khán Chíshtí: hence its popular denomination as Míah Khán Chíshtí ka masjíd.

A stone Masjíd, situated on the west of the Sáhermátí, and in Usmánpur—built by Sultán Máhmud Bigadá, the son of Sultán Muhammad Shah, grandson of Sultán Ahmed, A. H. 865, and dedicated by him to Siad Usmán Shamí Burhání as his place of prayer and residence. There is a stone rozá hard by.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE JAINAS—A summary resumé of past and present popular opinions respecting them—Their history, their origin, and sections—Their faith and deified conclave; their character and manners.

FROM the birth of Sabianism—whether in the plains of Chaldea or the vales of Ararat—the research of the speculative, the grave, and the wise, have been unanimously directed, quite as well from motives of curiosity as philanthropy, towards ascertaining the precise and several forms of paganism which have at different periods both agitated and sustained mankind. The existence of a religious principle, however dubious and disturbed its code, will always evince the supremacy of a creative power; and where this principle lives, its action will always be elevating. Thus, to fanatical zeal we are indebted for the sublime demonstration of the arts; and the progress of science has been promoted by religion.* Nor will the infidel dare to dispute the theory of a repelling moral cause, which guards and binds the relations of life; and, insidiously yet firmly, controls the more extensive machinery of political administration. Such a course of argument may not hold good to every disposition: but that it is true is abundantly evident. During the glory of the mythologies of Greece and Rome and Egypt, we have proofs of the skill and ingenuity employed to render their temples

* The bard of Olney very happily and forcibly depicts this:—

Philosophy baptized,
In the pure fountain of eternal love,
Has eyes indeed; and viewing all she sees
As meant to indicate a God to man
Gives *him* his praise, and forfeits not her own.
Learning has borne such fruit in other days
On all her branches: piety has found
Friends in the friends of science, and true prayer
Has flowed from lips wet with Castalian dews.

"Religious zeal—the most powerful and most universal agitation of the human mind." *Vide* Letter of SIR CHARLES MALET, *Bart.*, Ambassador at the Court of the Peshwá, to SIR JOHN SHORE, (afterwards LORD TEIGNMOUTH) President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta; under date Puná, 22nd Dec. 1794.

fitting places—in consonance with their faith—for the majesty of heaven: and later still the spirit of Muhammadanism has scattered its magnificent mosks from the east of Hindusthán to the straits of Gilbraltar.* Illustrative also of the weakness, yet the grateful emotions of the human breast—the propitiating piety and unphilosophic spirit—is the anxiety to adorn the churches of Christ with the jewels and the gems, which both dazzle and captivate the frailty of our race: and hence it may be discovered that even with the progress of civilization the remains of paganism will insensibly invade the altars of Christianity. Thus the doctrine of works at the hazard of personal vanity; not the influence of that benignant faith, arising from an humble and a contrite heart—regarding mortal impotence, and Immortal Omnipotence—which finds in its fellow-kind higher objects of commiseration and loftier impulses to benevolence. I will not stay to discuss the merits of a modern theory, which urges that the iconoclastic tone of spiritual reformation has levelled the most fatal shaft at architecture; but I would merely hold, that any faith when unassisted by inspired or revealed testimony, had established its eternal hope in the lofty and charitable specimens of human labor—in one word, *works*.

Such a spirit at least appears to have characterized a people whose existence was almost simultaneous with the dying glories of Greece and the majesty of Rome, and who about the same time achieved like pre-eminence in the land of their adoption; by their acquaintance with the economy of political government, their devotion to letters, and skill in an isolated yet exquisite school of artistic design. If there do not appear the like excellence in statuary, we can imagine,the taste which confined its exertions, under the lassitude occasioned by a tropical climate to lighter and more fanciful arrangements, in happy conformity with the languid strength of the constitution; the buoyancy and rarity of the atmosphere; the liberality of nature in her productions; all which operated in retarding rather than furthering the

* What, too, shall be said of Druidical remains—of the recent disclosures respecting Yucatan—and the blocks now imported into Europe from the ruins of Nineveh? Yet there exist the works of Balbec, of Pompeii—of other and elder labors!

desire towards excellence in performance. The erudite labors of Mr. HODGSON (of the Bengal Civil Service,) enable him to express himself with confidence respecting the intellectual attainments of the Jáinas—"The Brahmans themselves attest, again and again, the philosophical acumen and literary abilities of their detested rivals."

It is not quite thirty years since our first acquaintance with the splendid remains of Chandrávatí, Gírnár, Daílwárá, Pálítánhá, and many more similar results of Jáina labor: while the genius of Sir WILLIAM JONES at the head of the Bay of Bengal, and Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH within the small island of Bombay on the western hem of the peninsula of India supplied the examples and incentives to popular disquisitions relating to the country and its people in a period not long without the margin of twice that time. But, the singular creed of the Jáinas or Váníás (as they are still popularly denominated) or Banians had elicited so early as 1630, an elaborate and useful thesis for that period from the pen of Mr. HENRY LORD, one of the first Chaplains of the Surát factory: and just eight years afterward we find MANDLESLO, the German traveller, depicting a subterranean shrine of the tribe (*Bengans*, he calls them) at Ahmedábád. All the European travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who passed through Gujarát, mention the Hindus tenderness to animal life. OVINGTON remarks of the young English factors practicing upon the superstitious regard of these people, by firing upon cattle. A long and peaceful lull ensues until we trip upon FORBES's self-sufficiency in Oriental lore, in describing a fane of Parishwanátha at Cambay, as a Bráhmanical temple. And then a few cursory and desultory documents are supplied the records of the Bombay Literary Society, at the time composed of a galaxy of distinguished Orientalists. Next appears the volume of Colonel FRANKLIN, who would trace the paternity of our Bhudists in Jeynes, one of the magicians who practiced before Pharoah of Hebraic and Biblical celebrity. So that upon the whole, we were at the opening of the present century curtained by ignorance in relation to this people, and duped by Bráhmanism, by reading the history of Bhudism at the light of its

oldest and deadliest foe. I do not allude to Major WILFORD's exertions, since the deceit employed by his Bráhman pandíts threw the unhappy man into a fever when he discovered the gross fraud of which he was made the victim.

I have already mentioned the Lát of Feroz Sháh, and the discovery of its author, having cast a new light upon the historical phase of India : but to the talented Abel Remusat—the translation of the *Mahavanso* which was presented to the public under the auspices of Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTON—its continuation or addenda, called the *Salavenso;* the *Radjataringa* or annals of Káshmír ; a very elaborate German production denominated the *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*—a memoir on the history of Bhudism, supplied by the Oriental Professor Salisbury of Zale College, U. S. A.—the ingenious and able researches of Mr. HODGSON of the Bengal Civil Service ; Colonel SYKES's volume —and the copious speculations of Colonel TOD, we are now almost wholly indebted for the origin and connexion of Bhudism with India and the more eastern territories. " An off-shoot of the Indian mind, Bhudism, like the " Banian tree, germinated and grew with widening shade, till it has become " firmly rooted in the minds of four hundred millions of the human race."

The extreme south-western peninsula of Asia—once the strong-hold of Sabianism—is rendered by BUCKHARDT a seat of Hindu worship ; and the Muhammadan shrine of Mekká said to be originally a Hindu temple. VANS KENNEDY, in his crudite theories, would make the Sanskrít of Indian lore born within the tracts of Chaldean and Assyrian mystecism. TOD would afford Bhudism a primæval existence to Bráhmanism, deducing his substructions by many similar webs of antiquarian formation : " Here"—writing in Kátíwár, observes the Colonel—" is the very cradle of Budhism ; this is the land which " either gave these sectaries birth, or nurtured and sheltered them on their " expulsion or migration from other regions. The province of Syrastrene, or " region of the sun-worshipping Sauras, which anciently extended from the " Cutch Gulf to the delta of Sinde, was only divided from the fire-worshippers " of Aria and Bactriana by the Indus, no *attuc* to the Budhists whose tradi-

" tions affirm that their primates were accustomed to cross it long before the " appearance of Islam to visit their dioceses in the west. What reference " the term *Arhya* and *Arhya-punti* (*punti*, 'a path') used to designate Bhud- " ism, may have to Aria the land of Zerdusht and the Samaneans, we can " only conjecture, in like manner as we may speculate on the resemblance of " this sect in name, and perhaps in matters of faith, to the Budhist, some of " whose last Jineswars, as Parswa, may have been from Aria. Even the name " evinces an analogy with the ancient Pars, and the Parthic fire-worshipper, " and the characters and symbols on the coins and rock inscriptions of the " sacred mounts of the Jains, have no affinity with the Hindu, and are in all " probability a modification of the Chaldean derived either directly or by " communication with the Euphrates, or through Aria: a supposition " which would be countenanced by some of our cosmogonists, who make " these shares the line of route of the Semitic emigrants into India." Unfortunately the greater part of this extract is pure chimera: the pyrolatry of the Pars being as much like the worship of Párswanátha, as the service of Vishnu like the ceremonies of the Romish Church. Professor SALISBURY, an American Orientalist of some celebrity, needs have Bhudism coeval almost with the populating of India, and its existence intuitively Indian. The author of the masterly article on Bhudism in the *Calcutta Review*, in his sweep over the progress of that creed through Asia, fails to establish its birth-place, while he determinedly avers that what is already known of its past landmarks, cannot be farther elucidated, though its present phases need illumination. Major WILFORD in his 'Sacred Isle of the West,' attributes the faith an origin in Europe, upon premises as wild as the problem which could make a few *huns* (so called) near Kambátha a portion of that sanguinary band which under Attila shook the Roman empire. Colonel TOD, in delineating portions of the singular figures traced upon the rocks of Kátiwár, would fain approximate them with the Samaritan alphabet; but that the lofty and profound accuracy of Dr. WILSON has shewn the association to be fictitious. The delight of TOD, appears to have been an unre-

strained license in classical similes, and hence we can perceive this spirit unwearyingly pursued in his compilations. Alluding to the deified conclave of the Jáinas, he says—"The statues of Adnat'h or Vrishabdeva, are always "to be recognized by his symbol, (the bull) carved invariably beneath him; "and Iswara, or Siva, is as inseparable from Nanda as Osiris was from "Mnevis. Each has probably the same astronomical import, and the only "ground for astonishment is, how they should be alike found in the Palit'-"hana of the Indian, as in the Palestine of the Mediterranean Syria—on "the Nile as on the Indus and the Ganges—in all which regards the priests "of Bâl, or Surya, the Sun-God (whose name and worship in all probability "originated the name of Syria in both countries) worshipped in all the "Tauric type, or the symbolic phallus or lingam, in which the Budhists and "Jains at one time coincided." Colonel MILES assumes that 'the Jaina religion was introduced into the west of India from the east:' but the premises to such a corollary will exhibit its intrinsic value—'from the circumstance that the langage in which the Jaina *Sŭtras* or sacred books are written, the *Mágadha-bhásha*, is a dialect of the Sanscrit, understood to have been at a remote period that of the most eastern provinces of India, but of the precise period at which it was introduced into that part of India, little can be said.'*

Another writer far more confidently expresses himself—"The time has "been when men of great learning could differ on the question, whether its "originator was a native of Hindostan, or of Seythia, or an African. But its "history, as it may now be gathered from the books of the Budhists themselves, not only of India, but also of China, Tibet, and Mongolia, refers to "Central India as the first seat of this religious system." But, if we are aware, that Bahár or Vihár, (signifying *a monastery*) the ancient Magadh, was one of the early seats of Bhudism; that Káshmír—the 'Thessaly of India,' as it is sometimes called—was first populated by a Bhudistical race; what right have we to infer that the faith was propagated from thence? Is

* *Transactions of the* ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. On the Jáinas of Gujerat and Marwar. (Vol. III. p. 346.)

it not possible that the kingdom of the Balharás, the dynasty of the Cháurás, could have been preceded by a race whose history is yet unknown to us? The Jáina libraries of Anhalwárá and Kambátha are still closed to us, and guarded with lynx-eyed severity. The Ceylon revelations can in no way affect the voluminous and manifold histories of Gujarát. We have as yet only stray works, but we still need the presence of a firmer light dispelling the hazy dawn of information which we now own. To urge with any assurance, what is still dubious, certainly displays a credulous spirit where the feelings are less apt to be injured than the judgment.

I have devoted some pains and more than ordinary solicitude in this service; but the difficulty I have experienced in eliciting such information as I had derived from members of the sect, and the over-scrupulous precautions employed by them, either to over-rate their religious pretensions upon a comparison with Bráhmanism, or to lend a plausible color to many trivial points of no value to the main features, have amply defeated many expectations. With the exceptions of a very agreeable and prolonged conversation at Surát with a Saráwak pearl-merchant (a man of years, of wealth, and a literary turn of mind,) who had been disappointed in his expectations of the cenobitish life, for which purpose he had procceded two years ago to Pálítánha,—a few desultory interviews with eminent Sádus,—a treatise upon the sacerdotal ceremonies,—and a disquisition upon the principles of cause and effect,—for the larger portion of my knowledge I have been indebted to the kindness of friends in the Mufassíl, who have supplied me with information, at various, irregular, and frequently distant, intervals. In most instances, these have complained of their authorities in almost similar words—'the bigotry of the professor only assaulted the precepts of his inculcation, than promoted the purpose with which he advanced.' In the history of the Jáinas, the Oriental student can only make gradual, yet it is to be feared wide, advances towards the attainment of truth. That constant and close connexion with the Bráhmans has very sensibly tended towards the introduction of many rites foreign to the original mould of their *Thrap-*

tha-wanghí is quite possible; both Tod and Dr. Wilson, make mention in their journals of the frequent presence of Bráhman divinities in the temples of Pálitánhá: but, at the same time, I believe a more vigorous discipline is creeping among the Jáinas of Ahmedábád, savouring of the school of Geneva—in the instance of the temple dedicated by Hatísíng of Ahmedádád, to Dharmanáthá, I am aware of large sums of money having been tendered for the removal of a crypt of Mahádeu. Their literature, however, will continue to tax the investigation and ingenuity of the learned; for while the characters partially assimilate to the Sanskrít—the Pálí-Bhudíst or Magadhí is both in idiom and constitution widely different. From the latter emanates another and spurious description of writing peculiar to the Jáinas, known as *panch-bhel*, of which I had been so fortunate as to obtain a few manuscripts.

Within the meagre limits of a hurried sketch of the nature of Jáinaísm it is hardly possible to enter into that detail, or render observation elaborate, equal to the dignity of the theme; and I will therefore confine myself rather to general points than discuss the merits and influence of a religious system, which propagates a support of government, order, sobriety—morality of conduct, and tenderness to created life. Recent and astute analysis has attempted to show Jáinaism to be an off-shoot of Bhudism: and a demonstration of the theory is thus briefly afforded—"Budhistic scriptures are held to be not a revelation of divine law, but simply illustrations of a higher intelligence, inferior to the supreme being,—fitted to lead man through knowledge to absorption in the incommunicable substance of all things. The origin of the world is ascribed to a disastrous fatality. Such having occasioned the development of self-imminent substance, the first emanation was intelligence or Budha, together with matter, which elements combined, has given origin to all existing species of things. *A budha state,* is the last stage at which man arrives in the progress of perfection before reaching the goal of *nirvána.* * * The ideal of highest perfection would naturally be conformed to the conceived idea of the divine being, a subli-

learn that "the sect of the *Jains*, who are still found in some parts of India, and whose existence there may be traced back to the eighth century, are probably a remnant of the Bhudist, who, by compromise and concealment, escaped the vengeance of the Brahmans." Colonel MACKENZIE supplied the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. ix.) with the result of his enquiries; to which GRANT DUFF makes a passing allusion in his proemial observations to the history of the Maharátas. Quoting the *Calcutta Review*, we have it urged "that the distinction between the Bhudists and Jains is very "trivial. * * COLEBROOK remarks—"The Budhists and Jains are branches of "one stock, hardly more difference exists between the two than between the "divers branches of the single sect of Budha." HODGSON states—"The "Jains are sectarian Budhists, who differ from their Budhist brethren merely in carrying to a gross excess, and in promulgating publicly certain amorous dogmas, which the more prudent Budhists choose to keep veiled from "all but the initated." FRANKLIN mentions—"The worship of the Jains "compared with that of the Budhists, with very slight variations, is in fact "one and the same thing. The Jains worship twenty-four undefied "heroes; the Bhudists only seven. The Jains have caste, the Bhudists have "none. The Jains' images are naked, the Budhists' not." Professor WILSON writes—"The Jains are an emanation from the Budhist stem: it is merely "an exhaustion of that which the followers of Buddha devised." SYKES thinks "the Jains were originally a sect of Bhudists,—a schismatical offset from the "Bhudists." TAYLOR of Madras, the author of an analysis of the MACKENZIE MSS., calls the Budhists and Jains—"a people of one religion under two "modifications." These are the expressions of the happiest collaborateurs on Bhudism. The opinion of the German school may be embodied in an extract from SCHLEGEL (the celebrated FREDERICK, not his kinsman)—"Although the Budhists are now but an obscure sect of dissenters in the Western peninsula, they are still tolerably numerous in several of its provinces; while on the other hand, they have complete possession of the whole Eastern and Indo-Chinese peninsula. Besides this sect, there are many other religious

dissenters even in Hindostan; such for instance, as the sect of the *Jáins*, who steer a middle course between the followers of the old and establshed religion of Brahma, and the Budhists; for like the latter, they reject the Indian division and system of castes." Major G. LeGrand Jacob, in a report to Government, very prettily, pithily, and pointedly observes—" the Jains or Saráwaks, whose derivation from the Boodhists is so apparent yet difficult to trace." Coleman, in his *Hindu Mythology*, acquires his information respecting the Jáinas from a paper presented by the late Colonel Delamain to the Asiatic Society, which he compresses in his remarks along with other similar productions. Dr. Bird's Historical researches have not yet been fully completed, with the rumoured European publication he proposes to supply the Oriental world. The Doctor many years ago, (Dec. 1835*,) and the Rev. Dr. Stevenson very recently, have each given the Bombay records of the Asiatic Society able papers respecting the supposed aborigines of Hindustán, and the probable appearance of Bráhmanism and Bhudism upon this field. The arena of research, and conflicting testimony, could be almost interminable if the spirit of curiosity and disputation were to collate, to analyse, and to exhibit, the various shades of accuracy and fiction employed in the voluminous compilations from the Hindu Pantheon and Antiquities of Moor, Ward, and Maurice to the pages of Upham. The attention, however, may now be directed to the different points which have formed the bases of enquiry.

I. When the historian of the dying splendours of the Roman Empire diverts his attention from the triumphs, the festivals, and the weakness, of the State, to the scenes of those barbarian and pastoral hordes who, from North, South, and East, subsequently invaded and annihilated the power of Rome,—the mind takes an agreeable transition from the tainted atmosphere of pedantry, sophistry, and ingenuity, to the free, the accurate and artless,

* Mr. W. H. Wathen, (at the time Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and who on the occasion of this MS. being read presided at the meeting of the members of the Society) a Pali-Bhudist scholar of rare attainments, took the opportunity at this period to express a difference of opinion upon many of Dr. Bird's premises. Unfortunately, in almost all such disquisitions, the arguments are of the *petitio-principii* complexion.

narrative of these primitive races. Fettered no longer by the conflicting legends of party spirit, the genius of GIBBON is then equal to the loftiest aspirations; and the style of the scholar depicts with candour and gracefulness, what the metaphysical association deems unequal to its contest. In those regions immediately surrounding the boundaries of the Imperial seat of Antioch, we have a happily elucidated account of the different tribes; but when he passes into the confines of Hindusthán, history becomes obscure, and the fabulous acquires the ascendancy.* Influenced by the same distracting effort, we have Sir WILLIAM JONES enunciating "that the Hindus had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians; the Phenicians, Greeks, and Tuscans; the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; the Chinese, Japanese and Peruvians. Whence, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of these nations from them, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude they all proceeded from some central country." Of one point we are at least assured, guided by the light of the oldest repository of the past (and to the Christian, the irrefragable beams of a more effulgent revelation) that the concubinal offspring of Abraham peopled eastern and central Asia; and in the ancient Persian, Dr. WATERLAND discovers the primitive worship of the Hebrew patriarch.

If the speculations of recent European writers who attempt to define the nature of the early population of Hindusthán, are worthy consideration, we can readily believe the aborigines, as they might be denominated, to consist wholly of that division professing the Bráhmanical faith, with a purer system of worship (deprived of the mythological heroes and heroines who now pollute it,) and an uniform mode of speech and letters now characterised

* GIBBON, with solemn pedantry, confounds age and people; and assimilates character and qualities. His oldest context is that of Herodotus, B. IV.—'curious though imperfect." But to adopt the historian's own language—" In every age the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the north, and their arms have spread terror and devastation." And further on he has the Alani visit the confines of India. Chap. XXVI.

as the Sanskrit. By way of achieving a more telling antithesis with respect to the past in relation to things as at present, the homogenity of Europe is appied to the various invasions into India which controverted its original foundation: hence we have what is known as the Indu-Germanic conquest, which spread its followers in the lands between the Indus, and the Ganges, in opposition to the Indu-Norman or Muslím depredatory settlement. From the Himaláiahs north, to the extreme verge of the Indian peninsula southward, apart from varieties of feature and character, it is attempted to be established, that the Bráhman in contrast to the Bhudist religion, prevailed.

The Jáinas of Gujarát singularly denounce an anterior sympathy with the Bhudists of eastern Asia. They declare to an existence prior to the Bráhmanical doctrines being propagated: and that the toleration of creed permitted by their ancient monarchies, permitted those violent outbursts upon their property, their persons, and persuasions, which subsequently scattered their clans over the land, led them to conceal their wealth, and vigilantly guard from obnoxious interference their faith and its idols. Only till 1830, the Mísrí—pure Vánías, who are disciples of the Gosáijí Maharáj—and the Saráwak indiscriminately mixed in their social entertainments, and partook of meals at each others hands. Since then a sweeping religious revolution has taken place, which not only debars this incongruous admixture, but even marks among the Jáinas a commingling of those alone who subscribe to the peculiar number of the Náukasárí, or theological dicta.

Consulting the volume of a Muhammadan historian, we observe Abul Fazel begins his summary of the Muslím kings of that province with the portentous words—"In the books of the Hindus, it is written, that in the year Samvat 802 of the era of Vikramájit, corresponding with 154 of the year of the Hejira, (and A. D. 746) Bans (properly *Vans*) Raj was the first king who made Gujarát an independent monarchy." This Váns Ráj happens to be a Jáina prince, and of the dynasty of the Cháuras who found-

ed the empire of Anhalwárá. Four centuries later we find Komarpál, the eighth of the Solankí race, occupy the same throne; and the chronicler of his deeds, in alluding to his youthful career, (and long before he obtained the reins of government,) tells of his marriage to a Káshmírian princess upon his flight to the northward, and of his residence at Thíbet, for the turbulent character of his deportment to his sovereign and kinsman: these circumstances at least evince a community of religious belief both north and west. The Jáinas own to an early occupation of the lands east of the Indus, from whence they were driven by circumstances—external force and absolute necessity: they also acknowledge the Magadí, not as emanating from any province of Hínduṣthán, but as the language of the cloister, of philosophy, and of their belief. In an elaborate Sanskrit vocabulary (the production of a Yatí by name AMARSIME, and) denominated the *Amarákosha*, which is often quoted by their polemical disputants, a lengthy and agreeable and veracious summary is given of the origin and progress of Jáina-ism; which ascribes its emanation to Jáina, the father of Bhud, who is said to have flourished, according to Bráhmánical testimony, in the age, and at the precise period when Rámá subdued *Lanka* or Ceylon. The name, however, is attributable more to the description of its deified conclave—Jínesvár—than anything else: the *Sanskrit Dictionary* of Professor H. H. WILSON presents the interpretation as—*endeavour &c.* It is difficult, however, to draw deductions of any consequence from such meagre references.

1. The Jáina sectary declares Bhudism to be an offshoot of his faith more corrupt, less ideal and cognate with the ascendancy of Brâhmanism, when it fled northward, and eastward, and southward, while the Jáinas rallied round their household Jínesvárs, bent even to the overwhelming forces which overpowered their political position, but never lost sight of, nor forgot, nor blended their faith with another. Pure as it emanated with the first teachers, so unsullied it continues to the present time. And those teachers, where were they? Older than all our cycles by myriads of ages,—

older than the fabled periods of the Hindu Chronology—its golden and its iron age,—they belong it is told, and suitably, to the mysterious agency of their faith—to the past! One of the great places of pilgrimage with the Jáina devotee is *Chandrágír*, the Silver Mount, said to lie amidst the snowy regions of the Hindu Kho, or *Párbat-pat-pamár*, the Kaucasus and Paropamisas of the Greeks: and here many of these sages are made to exercise their philosophic errand on earth, and to have taken their leave of their race and their intended philanthrophic occupations. Among many fruitful assumptions of our time, and which it will require other times more signally to estimate, Professor WILSON *remarks* that—'the Jain faith was introduced into the Peninsula about the seventh century of the Christian æra.' And Colonel SYKES *believes*—'Sanscrit to have supplanted the Pali-bhuddist about the fourth century.' The Jáinas deem their faith and their language to have undergone several phases of transition: but they calmly uphold that in its esoteric form it is still consistent with its first manifestation; and that the Sanskrit no more supplanted their primitive dialect, than the English promises to be the universal speech in time to come, of Hindusthán. They conceal, with parsimonious tenacity, the valuable records of their early associations with the soil they now occupy: and it were painful to take more of their history of their hands in the absence of these records, which are said to possess considerable intrinsic merit.

2. The Jáinas, as one great mass, are divided into two important partitions—the *Dígambara*, who dispense with all covering (*ambra*) but the canopy of heaven (*díg*); and the *Savíthambara*, who acknowledge a pure raiment. The former barely, if ever, own any of the deified conclave but the abandoned Neminátha—and even he is rendered as shapeless as conformity will permit, and his person is devoid of ornament: the others allow discretion, if not sincerity, to render homage to the four and twenty; permitting volition to choose any one as the tutelar guardian. The Dígambara are mostly to be met about the province of Jepur and its neighbouring territories in the Dekkan, and towards the Karnátik: the Savíthambara

swarm in Gujarát. The most deadly hostility exists between the contending rivals. The Dígambara deny their fair any entrance or communion with them in the land of spirits: the Savíthambara insist upon their partners associating with them thither. Carnal life may be sexual; and the body is merely the shell of the spirit—that spirit, or essence, or life, is the same in man and woman, it cannot own such a definition as sex. The Dígambara priest wanders unclad in primitive nudeness, in his dwelling; and when abroad, adopts a brown-cloth sheet, with slits for the head and arms, as his clerical attire: the Savíthambara, at any time, is careful to give offence to social modesty. But these are the great classifications. The Jáinas do not own what the Bráhmans would denominate caste, but they possess clans, subordinate sections, subdivisions, schisms, denominated *gacha*—and whether all these now exist, has formed subject of dispute. Some declare that numbers have become extinct; others vehemently repudiate such an assumption: all agree that at one time they were scattered about the Peninsula of India, and that they do not possess the means (and the inclination be it added) to ascertain correctly.

1 Usawála
2 Jíráwalá
3 Varatapá
4 Tapá
5 Gamesará
6 Jeradía
7 Anapura
8 Vítuhanía
9 Udavía
10 Gudáudía
11 Dekáwámía
12 Bínamálía
13 Muhadásia
14 Dásarna
15 Gachapálá
16 Gokawálá
17 Maganudía
18 Brahánnía
19 Jálorá
20 Bokadía
21 Mudáhadá
22 Chíthrodá
23 Sáchorá
24 Kuchuría
25 Sídhántía
26 Rámasenía
27 Agmía
28 Maladhára
29 Bhâvarájía
30 Palívála
31 Korantáwála
32 Nágendra
33 Darmagoshá
34 Uchítawála
35 Nánáwála
36 Hubad
37 Sanderwála
38 Mandorá
39 Suráná
40 Kambádatíyá
41 Varodíyá
42 Sopárá
43 Mándalíyá
44 Kotípurá
45 Jángadá
46 Náparawála
47 Porasanda
48 Vívandaníka
49 Chítrávála
50 Vegadá
51 Váeda
52 Vídhahará
53 Kutukapurá
54 Kánelíyá
55 Nivabarthía
56 Mahukará
57 Kaharrasá
58 Punnatala Rájagu-raga
59 Revardíyá
60 Dandukíyá
61 Bámanía
62 Panchavalabhía
63 Vídhíyádar
64 Gandár
65 Sruchelíyá
66 Punamíyá
67 Nagarakotíyá
68 Hinsárakotíyá
69 Bhatanenurá
70 Jálahará
71 Soravíyá
72 Phúnsená
73 Thángadíyá
74 Kamboyá
75 Sevanthríyá
76 Vagerá
77 Bahendíyá
78 Sídhapurá
79 Ghogárá
80 Rájaguru
81 Sanjíthíya
82 Várejíyá
83 Murandavála
84 Nádaválá
85 Nágorá
86 Kruchara

The heterodox gacha of these is the Lonká—who only repeat six

sentences of the Náukásárí, carry a broom with a longer handle than the other Jáinas, and profess to greater sanctity of life. The Lonkás are called with little scruple by their countrymen—the mongrel sect. And, filthy as they may be in some respects, from an abstract intellectual belief which attempts to draw a powerful line of demarcation between the efforts of the mind and a puerile regard to the courtesies and the decencies of life, they fall considerably short of the Dondíyá schism—an offshoot of their own. Taking their theory in the onset—they make *volition* the rule of life, the only agency to be regarded; free in their actions, except in the performance of their category of good works, they deny the existence of an All Creative and over-ruling power; and entertain a lively affection for all animal life, particularly the aquatic. In social economics—ablution of any kind is looked upon with abhorence, and even the use of a dental antiseptic, which is employed and sought with every care by the sons of the East, is avoided. Should any part of the corporeal system be offensive to their perception, a rag is used to wear off the accumulation and then cast away: their apparel is at once filthy to the eye, and offensive to the nasal organ. The ordination of a Jatí is effected by affording him a small quantity of butter-milk, and the day with him must be a total fast. His feet should always be unshod; his right hand should always bear a thread broom to sweep the spot where he may rest, and to prevent a wanton destruction of insect life; a square piece of cloth (the *mohomatí*) ought always to be attached before the mouth, to thwart the efforts of entomological freedom; and the yellow, or saffron robe, the distinguishing garb of his office and his sect. His pretension is to the severest asceticism: mentally and corporeally. He renders obeisance to his ecclesiastical superior in front; but always bows to him at his back. Such are some of the characteristics of these Jáina dissenters, and to whom I shall not have occasion again to allude.

In contradistinction to them, the orthodox gacha are denominated *Saráwak*, from a combination of words: thus, *saradhá*, goodwork,—*wawéka*, respect, a consideration,—and *kíriyá*, prayer, and to signify, by the employ-

ment of the first letters—the observer of prayer and good works. Such is the interpretation that has been afforded. The designation, however, is used towards the Savíthambara laity only. The duties enjoined of Saráwaks are neither numerous nor onerous. Harmless or innocent animals should not be killed; but in self-defence, Saráwaks are warranted so to do. Truth is deemed a vital principle in the relations of life, and ought to be particularly regarded in the following instances—a woman, a cow, land, a deposit, and in the presence of magisterial authority. Yet the latitude or clemency of priest-crafty is choice in charging that theft or fraud of that complexion of which the ruling power takes cognizance, should be avoided. Intercourse with other but wives (*langota-band*) is blameable. A man must determine in his mind before embarking in any business, the amount of wealth that would satisfy him for retirement from the active duties of life: and upon his realising anything in excess, this surplus should be distributed in benevolent offices. Saráwaks are required to worship in the temple; wash the tírthákars with scented water (composed of sandal-wood &c.); anoint them according to Jáina ritual, with saffron; and make offerings of fruit, flowers, and grain. The saffron mark on the forehead should be oblong with the men, and circular with the women.

So much for the secular portion of this race—the real laborers or bees of their kind, and upon whom are dependant the Guraji, Yatí or Sevará, and Sripuj, each of whom will be severally noticed in order, while a few general observations may be previously hazarded, bearing upon the whole. They observe celibacy; cease to acquire or retain property; possess merely the suit of clothes they wear, with no change of apparel, and their mat for slumber; own no store, and are heedless for the future. They do not bathe; nor yet dare they audibly worship in the presence of their deified conclave, for such worship cannot be performed without ablution; no prayer is ever uttered by them—but the hands are uplifted, and the head bent when a Jínesvár is seen,—an act peculiar to them, and known as *Dharasan*.

They are however constantly engaged in secret prayer. The same peculiarity betides them as all Jáinas, that food and drink should only be partaken between sunrise and sunset. They never cook a meal, nor yet purchase the materials for one, but proceed to the lay-laborers of their community, of whom they solicit it. And in case of refusal, a fast must be maintained until such time as the cravings of nature are satisfied by gratuitous bestowal at other hands of their persuasion. No article—whether a wisp of straw or a diamond—should be touched, without the previous consent of its proprietor. Untruth is abomination. Affection for animal life a virtue of rare and sterling worth: and its destruction even by accident, ought to be avoided. They are expected not to allude to, and believed not to imagine, aught in relation to sexual intercourse, or anything which implies the existence of such a carnal appetite: nor yet dare they, by their own acknowledgment, touch even the hem of a woman's garment. They have actually abandoned the world, and the occupations of life. They have relinquished ambition, place, wealth, everything in relation to the pomp, the pride, or the necessaries, of life: respect, love, friendship—all the affections and the passions of existence. So at least they are required to do.

Yatí—tortured by parlance into Jatí, synonymous with the Bráhman Sanyásí. The Saráwak always employ this epithet in naming their spiritual guides. It signifies an ascetic,—one who conquers the flesh and brings the senses under subjection. In compliance with the terms of their own vocabulary, it is derived from the word "Yít" *to win, to conquer*, and the affix determines the senses subjugated. Strangers however use the appellation of *Sevará* (from *Seva*, service) towards the class, and though not considered respectful, the Yatís have sense enough not to be affronted when so addressed—courtesy, at least, will spare its use, when the distinction is understood. A sect known as *Mahatame*, who muster numerously in the province of Máravára, and of whom there are isolated exceptions in Gujarát, have thrown off their religious calling so far as to marry. They generally engage themselves for subsistence-sake in wealthy Saráwak families as genealogists,

they are also the historical chroniclers of the class to which they belong. They always carry about their persons their *chopras*, or volumes of traditional fiction.

Gurají—a corruption of *Guru*, abbot, and *jí*, the affix of decorum: is one who sets the laity to good works by precept and example. He is the true teacher of his tribe, if learned: though the margin permitted the expression, embraces the cenobitish life, and consequently widows who are disgusted with the world, or cease to have any actual interest in its concerns, also come within this signification. A Saráwak is only permitted to become a Gurají upon the solemn asseveration that he never returns to his former condition—the genuine spirit of Papistical monachism. He enters what is deemed the sacerdotal order. Upon a layman desiring to be a Gurají, the sect collect under the Srípuj, and the ordination is effected somewhat in the following form. According to the means of the applicant, the temple is decorated with flowers, costly myrrh is burnt before the presiding tirthákar, the *nábut-kháná* is occupied by musicians who play at intervals, and hymns are sung to the measured sets of the cymbals. During this time, which frequently continues for two or three days, and is regulated by the wealth bestowed by the noviciate, fishermen and others, whose profession it is to destroy life, as well as those who work cattle, are paid not to exercise their calling. His inauguration then proceeds: the head is shaven; the feet are divested of shoes, the body of the ordinary raiment used, and in lieu, he is supplied with the *Chalotá* (piece of cloth) a yard in breadth and three yards in the length, with which he wraps his loins, not allowing it to fall below the knees, and then a sheet, resembling the sárí, is thrown over the body. The intended Gurají next takes the vows of the order he adopts, which is frequently attended by the oath of *anagára* and the *muní*. With the conclusion of this service, he assumes the white robe of his new profession; holds the long slender staff; and a description of whisk made of wool, with a lengthy handle, called the *ugha*, or besom, by means of which he removes any insect or vermin about his person or on the ground, without

injury to the little creature. After the age of eight, any Saráwak can become a Gurají, and a woman upon passing puberty. Gurajís are burnt upon death at the expence of Saráwaks: cenotaphs are occasionally raised over the spot where cremation has taken place of those Gurajís who had won the affection, admiration, or respect, of their flock. But this tribute is not enjoined in their Platonic philosophy. Within the proximity of every temple, is a shed known as the *Apásará*, where the Gurajís collect, or resort at will, to hear the learned among them expound the laws and ceremonies of their institution. It was remarked to me, and with apparent sorrow, by a Saráwak—that few Gurajís abide by the spirit of their engagement, but numbers wear the habiliment.

Srípuj—the reverential epithet adopted in naming or addressing the chief guru: he is chosen for profound erudition and a known capacity to unfold the mysteries of Jáina inculcation. He is required to admonish both Yatís and the laity. A Srípuj is always permitted the highest seat in the *apásará* or any assembly, he takes the lead in all processions: and from a happy necessity—at variance with his profession—he is compelled to move in a *pálkí* or a *gárí*. The more rigid Saráwaks repudiate this last arrangement, urging that the high priest does not present the best example to his clergy by usurping what even favor has falsely conceded: the advocacy of the liberally disposed is evinced in the argument—that some line of distinction should be drawn between the *Srípuj* and his fraternity, and their affection and respect could not be better evinced than in this form, since it spares the dignitary from the sin of animal destruction by the tread of the feet. This designation is used equally by Dígambara and Savíthambara.

Sádhu—originates with 'Sadha,' to perform, and is applied promiscuously to those who are careful observers of their spiritual duties—in relation to time, place, and performance. The Yatís however bear the palm in this event.

Muni—A term applied to those who make it a rule of life not

to utter aught to the disparagement or injury of another. Weak or fretful minds, dreading a violation of their aim, render themselves *mute*. Among the Meshará community, this system is painfully maintained. Saráwaks, however, deem that non-interference with others' affairs, to avoid what is offensive, and that may be favorable to error or the commission of sin—would amply meet every provision of this engagement.

Angara.—The appellation given to an oath, which demands a prohibition in the touch, use, or retention, of any article belonging to another.

II. The obscure origin, and the actual social distribution, of the Jáinas, naturally lead to more important enquiries; such as the age, the rare translates, and the guarded garrulity of the schism will permit.

1. Did the Jáinas prove equally earnest in veracity and temerity with respect to their *Dhuadhashangí* as in the firm opposition they maintain towards the idea of the inspiration of the Hindu sacred writings, we should no longer be grovelling our course through the misty light of intended philosophical dicta and preposterous absurdities. They believe all life, however diffused, is uncreated; and that the matter in which it is wrapped up is *svabháu*, or nature. They believe in a supernatural essence—the silent and guarded observer of mutability; but whose agency neither operates upon the works (or the creation, to adopt their view) of nature, and who exercises non-intervention in the affairs of humanity. Philosophy, eccentricity, and superstition, appear to have made the combinations of their belief; and while many of their ideas and similes are sublime—there are as many absurd and contemptible.

Though but an atom midst immensity,
Still I am something———
I hold a middle rank * * *
On the last verge of mortal being stand,
* * * * *
Just on the boundary of the spirit land!
The chain of being is complete in me;
In me is matter's last gradation lost,

And the next step is spirit—Deity!
I can command the lightning, and am dust!
A monarch and a slave! a worm, a God!
* * * * so marvellously
Constructed and conceived, unknown?

The language of the Russian poet breathes all the aspirations and the dubious consistency of Jáinaism.

The metaphysical acumen of Saráwaks analyse created life into five divisions, and in the absence of scientific research among them, we can gravely smile at many of these anomalous distinctions. Possessing one sense: life that is stationary—as trees, fire, water, earth, and all other like property. Possessing two senses: a body and mouth—*example*, worms. Possessing three senses: a body, nose, and mouth—as ants, domestic vermin &c.; had they hearing, it is said, they would be alarmed at the sounds made to scare them away. Possessing four senses: a body, nose, mouth, and eyes—*instances*, flies, scorpions, locusts, bees, &c. Possessing five senses: a body, nose, mouth, eyes, and ears; subdivided into five classes, known as the *trí-jáncha páncha índorí*. 1, aquatic creatures; 2, four-footed (walking) animals; 3, winged animals; 4, animals which move on the belly; and 5, animals which employ the forelegs in eating. Man as a rational and reasonable creature, is an order of himself; the *Mánasá páncha índorí*, and even his physical powers are anatomized with an adroitness and a skill worthy a better cause. He is gifted with five senses—feeling, taste, smell, sight, and hearing. By the first property, he can distinguish eight things: dry or wet, heavy or light, cold or hot, smooth or rough. By the second—he can ascertain five: sweet, sour, pungent, insipid, and bitter. By the third—he can define pleasant, and unpleasant, odour. By the fourth—he can tell five things: white, red, green, yellow, and black. By the fifth—he can discern: life and living creation, lifelessness, and that compound between existence and inanimation. To illustrate this last theory, a musical instrument was mentioned, from whence melody or life is drawn, but of itself is material: again, the sound arising from the fall of a living and life-

less substance, is also quickly discovered. Of these senses, two are laborers —the eyes and ears: perfection acquired by them giving the means of subsistence; three though equally necessary, are enjoyers—scent, taste, and touch, participating in the pleasures of existence. But the Jáina is taught to conquer the natural propensity of catering to his appetites.

The universe is ruled by five great causes: which operate in and with each other, and in the aggregate, maintain and distribute the progress of events—material and immaterial. 1, *Kála* or time, eternity. Boundless, endless, undefined—without a beginning, and without a termination. The circle of philosophy which has agitated, and will continue to agitate, the poor conceptions of humanity. Which rolls its progress despite of political and moral and physical revolutions: which has survived every chronology, and will smile over every mundane dynasty. Superior to every calamity: silent, efficacious, true in the accomplishment of its purpose. 2, *Svabháu*, nature or integral purpose. All created life inherits its peculiar property: every species brings forth its kind, and gradually developes its intuitive relations. Cite an example? The mango bud passing into maturity is insipid at first, then owns a certain amount of acidity, which is soon increased; mellowness quickly follows, and next a decomposition of the pulpy substance; the kernel falls to the earth, remains there a time, germinates, and another mango-tree arises. In this order or cycle, or course, nature assumes her sovereignty, and each has continued to create its like. 3, *Bhávíka*, fatality. An allegory supplies the illustration. Once, a little bird and his mate occupied the topmost branch of a tree, conversing together. The cock-bird shortly exclaimed—"oh! how can we live longer?" His partner enquired the occasion of this remark. "Ah!" said he—"below I see a game-keeper ready to discharge his arrow, and above us hovers the cruel hawk: can we escape either?" The archer however stirred from his position, and this movement led to the arrow's flight and the death of the hawk. The little birds were saved their otherwise certain destruction. Hence this Bhávíka, which pervades the globe. 4, *Karmá* may be fortune or a fatality in another form,

or—as deistical arrogance has assumed—a characteristic of predestination. It evinces fore-doom; which no subsequent things or circumstances can by interposition attempt to alter; that which was intended must in the order of things ensue. 5, *Udhíam* is ultimatum, the consequent or effort of any one and all the foregoing causes; that actions, changes, circumstances arise in tone, and import equal to the nature or phase of any of the foregoing: and with the Jáina worshipper whatever the occupation of a man, the nature of his transactions, or the consequences that follow one or both, it is deemed his *udhíam*: he cannot avert or alter it; it is beyond his judgment to anticipate it, and once things take their train or order of events, it is impossible to say, quite as much as to believe or know, what the following moment will produce.

Very plausible, very specious, and yet very contemptible, as all this must appear to an amiable and educated moralist, much more to a Christian mind, perhaps the Jáinas are among the natives of Híndusthán the most devout believers of their code of superstition, even if their ceremonies are not gross and their worship so very punctilious and obsequious as with the Bráhman. The attempt to apply our modes of polemical disputation with the members of our creed, is as amusing as to explain their church principles upon the bases employed by us. In their proselytism, (which may no distant period render probable!) simple, uniform, natural suggestions will more speedily annihilate their scholastic theories; as more philosophical ones must bind them to their prejudices, and render them to rank themselves as martyrs for their faith where the least warmth or sophistry is attempted. There are very natural elements in the Híndu constitution—to an unusual share of acute intellect they unite considerable imaginative power.

2. The Jáinas, however, own a deified conclave, or a beatified race of men, who when upon earth—independent of performing miraculous deeds, and possessed with extraordinary longevity—piously and rigidly adhered to those tenets inculcated by Bhud. But these tírthákars or jínesvárs have

had distinct cycles—and these cycles are the past, the passing, and to come,—each receiving their due honors with the cycle they happen to occupy. The series of tabular documents which have passed into my possession, exhibiting the most puerile circumstances attending the actions as well as the personal appearance of these saintly mortals, would occupy the space of a distinct volume; yet the intestinal feuds of sects distinctively throw doubt and disrepute upon statements which one party passively believes and acts upon—the other as calmly and determinedly disowns either for rule of faith, or historical accuracy. The names of the beatified race are given in the order of time.

Past.	*Present.*	*Future.*
1 Kevalnání	1 Ríshábdeva	1 Padmanabhnáthayanamá
2 Nírvání	2 Ajítanátha	2 Surdev
3 Sávarang	3 Sambunátha	3 Suparísnátha
4 Mahájas	4 Abhímandana	4 Swavíyangprabhu
5 Vímalnátha	5 Sumatínátha	5 Srísarvanbhut
6 Survanbuthar	6 Padamprabhu	6 Srijívdeva
7 Sídhar	7 Supárasnátha	7 Srindanátha
8 Sídhat	8 Chandanaprabhu	8 Srípedalnátha
9 Dámodar	9 Suvadhínátha	9 Srípotalnátha
10 Suteja	10 Shítalnátha	10 Suthkírath
11 Srísvámí	11 Shregansanátha	11 Suvrath
12 Munísuvart	12 Vasupujía Swámí	12 Sri Ammanátha
13 Surnat	13 Vímalanátha	13 Srínckkáinátha
14 Sívagut	14 Anantanátha	14 Srinípuláyanátha
15 Srísastag	15 Darmanátha	15 Mamanmunátha
16 Namísar	16 Shantínátha	16 Srichítraguptanátha
17 Anal	17 Untínátha	17 Srísamádínátha
18 Jasodhar	18 Arsnátha	18 Srísanwarnátha
19 Krathárat	19 Malanátha	19 Srijusodharnátha
20 Jínesvár	20 Manísavrataprabhu	20 Srívijayájínnátha
21 Sudmathí	21 Nemínátha	21 Sri Malínátha
22 Sívakar	22 Namánátha	22 Srijindeva
23 Sampadan	23 Párasnátha	23 Srianantvíryánátha
24 Samprathí	24 Wardhamánprabhu	24 Srí Badharkarnátha

The first twenty-four heroes have each the gentle appellative of *jí* affixed to their names: of the second, and now popular, assembly, the epithets of *nátha* (lord), *prabhu* (lord), *deva* (God), &c., are in parlance, more especially associated with particular *tírthákars*, and in the generation to come, the final with most of the names is *náthayanama*. The most popular of the exist-

ing conclave are Párasnátha and Dharmanátha; and Pálíthána in Katíwár is the great site of prilgrimage to the Gujarát Jáinas. Here not many years ago, Motíchand the Saráwak millionaire of Bombay, added another sumptuous temple to the many still seen, and the scenery as well as mirage observed from this eminence, draw many an European to the locality. Hemabái, the Ahmedabad banker, has extensive grants of land to his family, from the Mogul Princes of Delhí, within its vicinity. Among other innovations occurring with the progress of the times—the Jáinas, who have settled at Bombay, have their Jínesvárs at the Presidency sculptured with a raiment; in Gujarát, it is frequently otherwise. Khímchand, a wealthy Saráwak gentleman at Bombay, has a temple in Love-lane Mazagaum, dedicated to Ríshábdeva, very gorgeously adorned. There are three others in different parts of the island: an important, or rather much frequented, one in Bolasvár. Tod has it that Neminátha, the negro-visaged,—who was ushered into their conclave, with the deification of his cousin Kríshná, by the Bráhmans,—is sought by the amorous devotees of the faith. Each of the tírthákars of the present time has a peculiar symbol carved in the plinth of the recumbent statue; this is the universal form of their appearance. To some of these I have already alluded in the visits paid to Jáina sanctuaries, both at Cambay and Ahmedábád. Antiquaries in India perhaps devote more attention to this particular branch of Jáina worship than it is deserving: the Saráwaks begin to entertain an impression that the period is not remote, when some vital religious convulsion is to occur in India, whether arising from exotic interference, or directly from among them, they are unable to determine—it is merely a presentiment which now operates with them. But as the recipients of that theory of a passive almighty cause—in themselves they silently receive and bend to every innovation, against which neither resistance nor strategem can be successfully directed.

III. Whatever the nature of the creed professed, and however dubious the character or virtues of their saints or spiritual guides, upon no topic can a writer experience greater difficulty in the employment of fitting lan-

guage, to convey either a defined analysis or a painted interpretation to European minds, than the architecture of the Jáinas. To all pre-conceived ideas, the European mind is painfully impregnated with the systems of Goth, or Greek, or Roman, and if the Saracenic school be at all remembered, it is rather as an incubus than anything like an order—clear, defined, original. To all preconceived ideas, the European taste upon the present subject is unhappily formed upon principles so wild, irregular—fictitious. A few cavern-fanes which arrested the notice of early European travellers, and have since perplexed and facilitated enquiry, have been established as architectural corollaries. But the mighty wonders of Gujaráshtra—the isolated temples and monasteries—constructed of marble, sometimes of one virgin stratification, at others so exquisitely tesselated as to outrival the mimicry of the Kalcidescope, have, with marvellous exceptions, known anything like a European acquaintance. In wide plains where no stone can be traced for miles around, a few of these temples still survive: and on lofty hills, which supply opposite materials, such sublime erections still arrest and win the admiration of the tourist. Whence, when, did these constructions arise? Like the unfortunate fane of the Ephesian Diana, posterity is better acquainted with the despoiler than the architect in most instances. But they exist: despite of natural convulsions and political revolutions, the warring elements of nature, and man, religious phrensy and the various phases of action, which besiege and annihilate the work of the sculptor. Yet, how shall we reconcile to description, a school so singular and so perfect in an age now approaching upon the remote; with that fastidious tenacity to peculiar designs upon the part of Europeans? At a recent meeting of British architects, (March 4, 1848) a Mr Fergusson presented a synopsis of Bhudistical architecture, which tells of this school being unknown upon the Indu-Muhammadan invasion; in the presence of Arabian testimony, which declares the splendour of one of the Jáina modern kingdoms, both before and after the predatory excursions of Máhmud of Ghízní, and apart from the spoliation of the infamous Allá-u-dín. The confusion of hypo-

these and fact has gone farther to retrograde the spirit of research, than promote its legitimate functions. WIGHTWICK, in his *Palace of Architecture*, presents a few confused ideas of the capital being frequently that of a peculiar bracket-head—and the triglyph as of common occurrence: FERGUSSON discovers a purely Greek honey-suckle upon a pillar of Asoko at Allahábád, and attributes its existence to the frequent mention of Greek names (Ptolemy, Antiochus, and other kings) in his inscription. Mrs GRAHAM, however, who has done much to enlighten mankind upon every Indian topic, in her usually vivacious and capricious spirit, observes—"The Hindu chisel has perhaps seldom been surpassed; its light and airy foliage, its elegant volutes, and the variety of its subjects, vie at once with Italian art and Gothic fancy, to which last style it has indeed occasionally a remarkable likeness." I have already said that TOD was of opinion that the Gothic arch must have had birth in Hindusthán. Indeed it were no small waste of patience and prudence and time to place upon record the hasty, the meagre, and too frequently egotistical, observations of the past. That they have amused and incited the fancy of those who at once desire and dread to visit these regions, is notorious.

The architecture of the Jáinas was confined to temples, *víháras* or claustral buildings, *upásarás* or lecture halls, *dharamsálas*, or the trysting-houses for the traveller, and *báurís* or wells. Their taste as a body led to these national erections; while the magnificence of kings, and the wealth of private individuals, found other employment in their dwellings and pleasure retreats for their ample stores. What is most to be regretted is, that in this northern architecture the climate has more subtilely but as effectually told upon the labors of the mason as the fanatical zeal of the Islamite. Those canals and aqueducts now occasionally discovered in various parts of northern India, belong to an age of Jáina rule and magnificence wholly unknown as yet to European investigation. FERGUSSON however is in the course of presenting the public with his observations in a recent tour, in a serial form. In their temples, the Jáina votaries were scrupulous with respect to the arrangement

of the portico, the *anticum*, and the *adytum*, or *ædicula*, where the idol presides. This latter resembled in character the "sanctum sanctorum" or *holy of holies* of the temple of Solomon. Generally, around the temple was a large open space, which was protected by a raised wall, where occasionally a series of dormitories were originally erected, but which subsequently gave place to a host of chapels, in each of which presided one of the many tírthákars. The walls of the yard and the temple were always adorned with handsome archbutants—the *ante-rides* of other days. The domes were acuminated. The pillar was mathematically raised in eight equal parts, both the capital and base partaking each of one of these parts. Dr BIRD has attempted an explanation of these parts, which leaves us as much in ignorance as we were heretofore; and the attempt to elucidate this particular subject requires plans and views which could never be effected in India, and are often hopelessly injured by climate as well as the carelessness of Indian copyists: the lowest charge for merely fairly transcribing an icnographic section of the temple of Hemabái at Ahmedábád, was *forty rupees*; the expences which thus accrue for the simplest work, and the most indifferent results, are scarcely credible. It is this circumstance more than any other, which retards the progress of scientific enquiry, and which paralyses the best efforts, much more the wishes, of scientific laborers.

IV.—It has struck more than one astute observer, that the soil of Hindusthán absorbs every exotic element which is introduced, and soon permits it its own characteristics. Whether the Jáina or Bráhman votary had precedence in their appearance upon this soil,—many of the manners, and the peculiar gastronomy adopted by either, are alike. But for opulence or intelligence in Gujárat, the Jáina or Saráwak, as he is popularly denominated, has the advantage. He is certainly the most enterprising and speculative to a degree amounting to unscrupulousness. The spirit of gambling appears to act as a blight upon his race; smothering every generous emotion which may exist in the breast: it is not confined to Opium transactions, nor the anticipated tendency of Exchange within a defined period; but even liti-

gious suits are filed upon the most chimerical pretences, only to discover their issue. To such an extent is this carried, that during the interval against judgment being given, high stakes are laid upon the probable result. Avaricious, cunning, bigoted, superstitious; with a love for lucre, which appears the sole object of existence—the wiliness of Sarawáks is past belief. And yet the Jáinas are a singular people from the contradistinctions they offer of themselves: they are the only natives of Hindusthán who possess notes for music; and it is among this class that the most valuable numismatical relics will be discovered. It is customary with them to place several coins—called emphatically, in consequence, *pujá rupi*—before their tutelar tírthákar, at the stated periods of devotional worship: these coins are almost always hereditary, and it is difficult to say the mine of legendary wealth of the kind in their possession—since they will not shew these to strangers, and I know of no equivalent which would prompt them to sell or barter these *holy coins*. The Jáinas use a rosary, something like that adopted by Roman Catholics—and hence the assumption of their Christian origin! They also attend to eulogistical discourses upon life and time, beside the remains of the dead. They burn their dead like many other natives of Hindusthán; but in peculiar instances of worth or piety—as has been previously remarked—a cenotaph is raised over the spot where cremation had been performed; and frequently in passing some obscure hamlet of a dark dreary night, the traveller beguiles himself for an hour with the protected light shewn from one of these. I have already alluded to the *Pánjrápola* of Surát—wherever there exists any number of Jáinas, such an institution is sure to follow. Their love for animal existence is carried to almost contemptible nicety—not only are eligible roofs and extensive grounds set apart for this purpose, and quantities and the best of food bestowed, men employed to protect the property, and brutes impaled,—but even lads are engaged to scare crows and other birds from disturbing the dumb inmates of these hospitals. Nay, more than this: a wealthy Saráwak at Ahmedábád has paid so much as *forty rupees* for a vile bed curtain, not

worth so many farthings, merely to prevent the destruction of the myriads of vermin it contained. This very identical native gentleman afterwards shrunk from contributing a mite to a proposed Lunatic Asylum, while thousands of rupees were lavishly bestowed upon his *animal-ward !*

The Jáinas do not consider marriage a religious rite, but a mere civil obligation—a man and woman contracting to assist each other through life. The ceremony of betrothal consists in a message being sent by the Náthgor—the officiating minister—from the girl's parents to the boy's : if the proposal should prove agreeable, a meeting is held at the house of a third party—the friends of both parties are then invited, and either a verbal or written engagement is made at the time in their presence, and the dowry of the lad to his promised bride is then named. Upon parting, the betrothed exchange a cocoanut and a rupee mutually. After this, the marriage can be celebrated at any time according to the means or inclination of the individuals concerned, but generally not before the girl is twelve years old : the connubial rite is performed by the Náthgor, and the young wife quits her parents' for her husband's roof when she attains the years of puberty. Upon the birth of a child, the Náthgor selects the name to be given it under the horoscope, and the maternal aunt (if the infant have one) pronounces it upon the occasion. In the absence of such a relative, any other female of the family—and in the last instance, by the mother of the child. The Náthgor, it ought to be mentioned, is not considered anything in a religious point of view by the Jáinas, but is merely employed to convey invitations for entertainments, to form betrothals for parents, and to promote other social and domestic arrangements. To continue : the wife when enceinte proceeds to her mother's home, if this parent should be in circumstances to afford maintaining her, and where the lying-in takes place. When the woman's confinement is nigh, the Náthgor is called, to permit of his consulting the astrolobe, and drawing out the required horoscope.

The Sarâwaks are perhaps a little hasty, according to our estimate of things, in re-entering nuptial life upon becoming widowers. At the very funeral pile of a deceased wife, matrimonial proposals are made, which are consummated before the following month has elapsed: in some instances where men of affluence are concerned, scarcely has a fortnight flown over their loss, when not only the preliminaries respecting dowry, &c., are arranged, but the marriage is actually effected. Cases have been cited to me, where parents have outbid each other in the dowry the bride brings into the widower's household, and this wrangling has transpired beside the burning remains of the dead!

CHAPTER XVII.

DEPARTURE from Ahmedabád.—Jhánsa, or incendiarism by threat.—Nariád, the country and its resources.—Journey continued.—Arrival at Barodá.—Derivation of the name.—The City and British Cantonments.—Political Residents at the Court.—Character of the late Síyájí Ráu Gáikavád.

25TH JANUARY.—By half-past four of the afternoon of last Saturday, I had mounted on horseback and was on my way out of the city of Ahmedábád, by the Jamálpur Darwázá. In the course of an hour, I could catch the last glimpses of the city, receding from view with the western sun gilding síkrá and fairy mínár, and capacious dome: not involuntarily, perhaps my thoughts were passing from the works of art, to the dying splendour of the "god of day."

I had now fairly quitted Ahmedabád for Barodá. I was fortunately accompanied in my journey by a traveller proceeding thitherward, with whom I had engaged to keep company. We had a guard of sawárs, sípáhís, &c., indeed a cavalcade, formidable enough to daunt the spirit of any marauding parties, while it lent an imposing appearance to our progress. I continued to prefer the native cart, as my travelling equipage: occasionally mounting one of the steeds of my *compagnon de voyage*, as it suited my limbs, or a love for the picturesque prompted me to vault into the saddle. The moon had just passed her full, and the projected trip to Barodá was fraught with every hope of interest and entertainment. Lálí, the mid-stage between Ahmedábád and Kaira, was passed shortly after nine o'clock. I now entered my *chakra*, to obtain some rest. By eleven, we had gained Wásná, the second *gáu* (hamlet) from Lálí, where I partook of a little water from a tank

hard by. I fear it was the use of this liquid which produced an incipient attack of the hæmorroids from which I am still a feeble invalid. I have not failed to avail myself of medical assistance. We had scarcely proceeded beyond the foot of the village of Wásná, when the right wheel of my ghárí gave way, and I was unhappily upset. The accident was soon remedied with the spare materials that the driver had the precaution to carry with him: I believe this is usual in Gujarát. We speedily recovered ourselves and prosecuted the journey. Passed Kaira at half-past one the following morning, and arrived at Naríad precisely at six o'clock.

My companion and I had been out *sur la pied* enjoying the morning air. The country between Kaira and Naríad we found to be exceedingly luxuriant in noble specimens of the forest, and the Guráru soil which prevails here renders it extremely fertile. Every justice has been done this charming—yet, strange to add, unhealthy—portion of the province by FORBES in his *Memoirs*, and HEBER in his happy narrative. During the day (the 22d), I made it a point of meeting the more opulent portion of the natives, and elicited that Tobacco and Coriander-seed were the chief staples of the Naríad district; they are exported largely. Tobacco forms the main source of revenue. The population of Naríad comprises ten thousand families—chiefly Híndus. There are extensive Híndu remains, mostly tankás: some of these are shaded by the ample crest of the *Bhar*, which predominates in this quarter. The entrances into the town appear to be of Mogli construction. Our stay here did not extend beyond the day: we were worn out by the night-jaunt; the horses could not be stirred with the journey yet before them, and the heat was somewhat oppressive to permit our moving abroad as desired. The appearance of the environs was delightful. The paroquet, thrush, and all the ornithological genera to be found in Gujarát, were to be seen here, each appearing to outrival the other in the strength of its peculiar notes. The natives, chiefly Kunbís, seemed a cheerful, active, and industrious race. I noticed the importation of a quantity of bar and rod iron, to be eventually converted into pickaxes, &c.: the inhabitants still continue

wedded to the manufactures of their town. Upon the whole, I might with justice aver that Nariad was the most stirring little town I had visited in the province. It was one of the sites of our early factories: no building was expressly raised, but a house engaged on purpose. At Naríad, I saw a large tanká of *Mítha thel* (sweet oil) to be found throughout the country, said to be extracted from the *Sesamum Orientale*. The oil is employed in various ways, but chiefly by Hindus for dressing food. It has also been found very valuable in dressing wounds, particularly during the hot season. This brings to recollection an incident recently related to me by a gentleman intimately conversant with the country and people; that the milk of the Pípal tree is largely used by Kolís for the cure of small cuts, wounds, or bruises. An incision is made in the tree, and the milk that oozes is dropped between the lips of the wound, and over this is placed scrapings of old cloth, to serve as lint doubtless. It is said not to occasion inflammation, and the hurt requires no further attention. A cure ensures within a week or two. Quitting Naríad, (the town where I had put up—not the Travellers bangalá, which is in its outskirts about half a mile distant) at half-past four, we passed several fine samples of the *bhar* in the vicinity of *taláus*. The water-fowl which sailed on the bosom of the latter—the exquisite variety of lotus to be seen here—the sweet stillness of the evening, lent an agreeable charm to languid spirits. The Moon rose about nine: by ten o'clock we were beside a hamlet of some extent in one fearful blaze, occasioned by what is generally known in Gujarát as *jhánsa* (threat); envy, revenge, an unliquidated account, either financial or on the score of courtesy—the fiercest and most malignant passions—produce sad havoc, of the kind now witnessed. In the event of debt—too frequently the case,—the creditor communicates his intention upon a shred of paper, which is either thrown or placed in some conspicuous quarter to arrest attention. Should his claim remain unadjusted within the prescribed period named, the malicious injury is executed. It is of too frequent occurrence in the province to create any surprise or horror among residents. It has been found equally ineffectual to trace

directly, either by circumstantial or corroborative evidence, the incendiarist. The scrip never possesses a signature; but its import is as clear as the hand-writing on the wall of Belshazzar's palace—"weighed in the balances and found wanting." It was heart-rending to listen to the doleful moans, bitter shrieks, and deep curses, of the old—the women and men; children rang the air with their piteous cries; while all exerted themselves towards extinguishing the rapid inroads of the fire. There was as much wanton destruction brought about in the means thus employed as the fiendish thought which prompted the deed. However, the Kolí is a sad fellow: the first dawn of thought in his infant breast is instilled with treachery—while the encouragement of revenge falls short of its attainment, to which even life is believed of subordinate value. A singular system of self-outlawry, of the kind called *Bárwathía*, also prevails.

The next stage, Anand, a distance of six *kos* (nine miles), was passed at eleven o'clock; and the travellers' Bangalá at Wásad—a stage of similar length, by five the following morning. The bangalá is on a slight elevation, commanding a happy prospect of the country around. Enjoying a cool wash, and partaking of breakfast, the journey was prosecuted by half-past nine. The road we took for the Mihí, was composed of heavy ground between the clefts of sandy hills scattered for a few miles along either bank of the river. Within an hour we got over the hard beach on the western side, and entered the Mihí, crossing it in our vehicles. The stream was pellucid, its bed shingly: the greatest depth where we crossed five and twenty inches, and its widest expanse not exceeding sixty yards. This river is not fordable during the rains; the freshes alone would render it dangerous, but the extensive champaign its waters covers, its depth, its singular undercurrent, which (at Káví—even during the dry season) occasions hazard, make travellers employ considerable caution in getting over to the opposite coast. I have already alluded to the original name of this stream—the *Pápa-sínî* or river of guilt: another designation is the *Krishná Chádrá*, or black stream. Colonel Tod mentions one of the many saws relating to

it—*Utharâ Míhí, huá suí,* 'when you have crossed the Mihí, then speak of safety.'

Once again upon dry land, our guides took the dry bed of the *Míní* which during the wet months is an impetuous stream according to prevalent gossip. Our course continued through sandy ravines for a considerable time, the progress of the vehicles being comparatively slow, in consequence. Parched fields next formed our road, and by three o'clock of the afternoon of yesterday, broke upon us the *Chání,* with its splendid avenue of mango trees extending for a mile and more over a fine broad road, frequently used as an evening drive. We were soon before the British Residency, and the floating standard announced the Political's being at home. With recent improvements, the building presents a more agreeable appearance than during Bishop HEBER's visit. I could merely bestow a hasty glance. A bye-road brought me to the dwelling I was to occupy.

28*th January.*—Barodá, in Lat. 22° 21′ N., Long. 72° 23′ E., an ancient stronghold of the Jáinas, subsequently wrested from them by the Muslím Tátar dynasty of Hínduslhán, is now the seat of a Maharáta Chieftain, whose ancestor retained by perfidy and valor and wealth, what had readily fallen to the British forces towards the close of the last century. Ominous of its pristine glory are the báuris in its immediate vicinity and on the table-land of Páunaghar hill—lying at no distance, once suggested as a military sanatarium—and within the precincts of the hamlet now, and the degenerated city, of Champánír, are claustral remains of singular beauty. A few miles from the city runs the broad Mihí, and sweeping past the city of the Gáikawád is the narrow and serpentine Vishvámantrí, in the bed of an irregular and occasionally a deep ravine. The country is rich in magnificent specimens of forest beauty; and its appearance has long and happily been assimilated with an English park, though the liberality of nature in this instance frequently occasions the most fearful malaria.

Barodá—a Jáina foundation, was originally called by one of its victors —Chandan Rájá, of the Dor tribe of Rajputs, who significantly blended it

with his own name in the euphonious—Chandanavátí, the 'City of Sandalwood.' With the lapse of centuries and caprice of its ruler, it was altered to *Varavatí* or abode of warriors, and an acknowledgment of priestly influence transposed it to Barputrá or leaf of the bhar—"from some fancied resemblance in its circumvallation, to the shape of the leaf of the sacred tree, which Milton describes—

'Broad as Amazonian targe.'

The transition to Baroda was simple, and its sovereign Lord seems inclined to let it rest under its present designation." The old Muslim denomination was Dáulatábád—'the abode of wealth.' Other and probable occasions of the appellations have been supplied to me, but I would not be justified in enunciating expressions equally consistent and perhaps equally fictitious. Colonel Tod, while at Barodá, was supplied by an influential Jáina with what was said to be the veracious history of the origin of this feudal government: upon investigation, it was discovered to be the duplicate of a MS. he had had for years in his possession, and abounding in legendary romance. Most of these productions emanate with the celebrated *Bhát* and *Chárun*, first introduced to publicity by General Goddard as the bards and historical chroniclers of the province. I have already mentioned the *Mahatame*, a Jáina genealogist employed in wealthy Saráwak families. Whatever the amount of confidence heretofore placed in these men, or their solemn security for the liquidation of a debt or the fulfilment of an engagement, their influence has long been destroyed, and they are deemed the most accomplished charletans of such handiwork.

Barodá, or Brodera according to early European tourists, was not quite that important situation in the seventeenth century which it now commands, but this may be readily attributed to Ahmedábád and Surát successively rivetting the diplomatic policy and commercial economy of Gujaráshtra; and its present consequence is rather derived from the agricultural wealth of its various departments than any other circumstance.

BALDEUS, writing in 1665, has Brodera, to employ his orthography, 'an inland town, inhabited by husbandmen and clothiers.' MANDLESLO, much earlier, and Dr. FRYER subsequently, observe as much. The Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch, had each a number of subordinate factors stationed here. The object of the Dutch was the purpose of the other Europeans—"to buy up coarse cloth for the Arabians and Ethiopians"—in other words, for the Persian and African markets. But the dynasty of Ahmed Shahái and the potentates of Ajmír, had left remarkable traces of their power—in gardens, and tombs, and other similar features still shown throughout the length and breadth of their government. While artfully destroying the remembrance of monuments of worth, of necessity, and of piety, for the patriotic associations they would arouse, they ardently followed the steps, and attempted to eclipse the splendour, of the ancient Jáina monarchies. Human ingenuity here at least appears to have overreached its ordinary estimate, and an instinctive apathy—or a happy climate to have deadened the nobler emotions of the breast—with the architectural skill of Hindu and Muslím promiscuously strewed.

An irregular wall of from fifteen to eighteen feet in height, and extending about two miles in circumference, with four gateways, and forty-four bastions mounted with ordnance, make the city of Barodá, the capital of the Gáikawád. Its origin is apparently Muslím, though the *Mírát Ahmedí*, with its fatal chronological omissions, neither supplies the probable period of the erection, nor the author of its existence. Be this as it may, the Badhr or citadel of the former government, is readily recognised from its lofty walls, which rise considerably above those of the city. A number of irregular troops, and a strong force of Síbandís, are generally engaged here: and the martial harmony of one of the regular clad bands I found practicing in a haveli—happily made to serve the purpose of a ward for tigers and these musical spirits—stunned my senses, if they would not terrify an advancing host! However, in the arrangements of the city there is an absence of that military strength which is supposed to belong to such

establishments,—arising doubtless from the security in the British cantonment, lying not a league beyond to the E. S. E. At once unrivalled for wealth and filthiness, no city needs so sadly the process of demephitization: and, strange for a Maharáta regime, swine are the only scavengers employed by the state, and the scene is rendered more obnoxious from the presence of these animals in every stage of excremated wretchedness.

In the very heart of the city, and within the vicinity of the Palace (which lays northward, and is said to be decorated with princely magnificence internally, though the exterior is mean) and the great market of the capital, is a square erection of three lofty arches a side and running transversely into each other: the design is Muslím. From this quarter issue two great streets which intersect the town at almost right angles. In different parts of the town I went over the hunting establishments of cheetahs of the Prince; the menageries which encaged a number of tigers; saw an old chained giraffe; the surviving rhinoceros presented by Lord AMHERST; and the extensive elephant and camel stable-yards. The only decent-looking buildings that I passed were of European origin—one being constructed for Captain BALLANTINE, the other for Mr WILLIAMS of the civil service—both at one time attached to the Political Residency: the smaller house was in dilapidated condition, and consequently I presumed closed; the larger is used under the Gáikawád's orders, for the accommodation of indigent native travellers. At no great distance beyond, is the only existing ancient erection from the chisel of the Hindu Silpi: it is a *báuri* or well, and is singularly denominated *náu lák ke báuri*, or the well of nine láks, to signify that it cost its projector that sum. The material employed is greywacke; and in size the well is nobly capacious, after the Adhálaj and Dádá Harír constructions. Very little care is taken of the property, and while its existence is attributed to a saintly *fakír*, it is owned by the old and wealthy banking house of *Harí Bakthí*, whose sole surviving partner and heir is a youth of ten years, by name Parsotam.

Across the indolent Víshvamantarí are built a couple of bridges, not a stone's throw from each other: the more recent structure was raised under the superintendence of Captain (now Lieut.-Colonel) WADDINGTON, of the Bombay Engineers; consequently the construction is equally elegant and massy, and its parapets prettily illustrated with open Doric columns. The other erection apart from other expressions, I believe to be purely Hindu: two galleries of low and numerous arches support a long and narrow passage; while extensive flights of steps leading to the bed of the river, along either bank of the stream, and on both sides of the bridge, extend some distance. The prospect here is novel and picturesque, enhanced by the presence of temples, groves, and other accessaries peculiar to the vicinity of important places of Bráhmanical resort. Beside the margin of the stream, groups of natives—men and women—are constantly engaged in various employments, from the performance of ablution to the bleaching of raiment. Both these bridges lead a little above each other to one wide, long, and broken road, shaded throughout by an avenue composed chiefly of the *bhar*, and the country around appears to partake of vegetable productions, occasionally relieved by orchards.

The white stone points of the limits of the British cantonment, soon present the long and various tenements of two native regiments of the line, a detachment of Golandáz, and the body-guard of the Resident, which comprise the troops stationed here. On a *medán* or lawn before the residency, a lofty Doric column over a high square pedestal—and whether from singularity or otherwise, devoid alike of inscription, slab, or carved reference of any kind—is erected to the memory of Mr JAMES WILLIAMS, of the Bombay Civil Service, one of the early politicals at the Gáikawád Court, and the personal friend of the last Prince. So happy were the existing relations between the Sovereign and Ambassador, that upon Mr WILLIAMS' demise it is reported that he discharged his liabilities in the city; one payment alone is said to have amounted to Rupees 40,000. Independent of these circumstances, the memory of Mr WILLIAMS will be enshrined in the breasts of

the citizens of Barodá for all that is amiable and distinguished in the arena of political and social life. He was a noble specimen of the English gentleman—frank, generous, unostentatious, free—with a purse ever open to relieve pecuniary distress—a tear for the wretched, a heart free from the danger of suspicion, and a nerve capable of pushing and obtaining justice. Colonel TOD, however, glowingly eulogizes the hospitality and talents of *James Williams*, to whom is dedicated this striking cenotaph.

A few tombs are scattered about the Christian Cemetery : a broad stone plinth uncompleted, marks ' untold' the spot of sepulture of the Honorable JAMES SUTHERLAND, the successor in office of Mr WILLIAMS.

A neat, nay a handsome if even a crumbling, Gothic Church was consecrated by HEBER in his first and great Episcopal tour over the length and breadth of the British dominions in his time in Hindusthán. The building is not quite forty years old, yet, strange to say, it presents sad marks of decay. Government have been recommended to have it levelled and re-built, as the cheapest principle with respect to perspective charges for its support. At present the roof is being removed, but it will not be long before the whole edifice will have to undergo thorough repair.

A Chapel, of mean dimensions, is supported by the Roman Catholic community ; many of whom are in employment of some kind under the Native Government. The Priest is paid a miserable pittance. It is worth the enquiry whether men of education, however different the creed, but as spiritual leaders, can drag maintainance upon a sum short (in this instance at least) of what a gentleman would pay his table-servant ?

There are upwards of thirty families of Pársís—Mobíds and Bedín —in the City and Cantonments, engaged in various capacities.

The *London Missionary Society* has a branch establishment here, and until lately occupied quarters within the British limits : it has since been removed to one of the many little islands in the river Mihí. Originally the Missionaries planted themselves in the very stronghold of the ruling authority, but Síyají Ráu was fatally opposed to innovations of any

complexion, and rumour asserts that he deemed education an obnoxious measure: under such circumstances it would not be unkind to presume of his interference with the residency to solicit the removal of the Mission from the town to the British cantonments.

A little beyond, among other pleasure resorts of the same stamp is *Nawáb ka bhag.* The survivor of this Muslim dynasty of Barodá is Mír Hussen-u-dín-Khán, familiarly denominated the Nawáb of Barodá. He is a man of corpulent parts, and of a cheerful disposition. He is reputed to be wealthy. His father is said to have done the British Government considerable service.

Barodá sadly needs an English School, which would be supplied with pupils by the Pársí families at least: it must be a gratuitous foundation, otherwise it has little prospect of success.

Last in this rapid survey of the Gáikawád City and British cantonments of Barodá, but the most prominent point of the political prism—is the Residency. Prior to its erection, the Resident lived the larger portion of the year at Ahmedábád in the palace at Shahái Bhág, and whenever he made his appearance at Barodá occupied a long native-looking house in its city. The present dwelling was built not many years ago (1832-33,) but extended by its different diplomatic occupants: it is rather a large and a heavy building than indicative of any school of design. The Gothic is said to have been the original aim; but its existence is now lost—with a happier regard for ventilation and comfort under the subtile, the oppressive, and dry climate of Gujarát, particularly dangerous in this part with its forest world of beauty. The official duties are conducted by the subordinates in an adjoining lower-roomed erection. Sentinels guard the gateways, and tramp their sullen step at the entry of the residency. In a pond within the railed precincts of the mansion, are a number of colored fish, exhibiting the various hues of gold, and silver, and maroon, and slate—which nature appears to have capriciously lent.

Distinct from the Executive Cabinet of the Western Presidency, the highest and most valuable appointment under the Bombay Government is that of the Resident of Barodá. Major, afterwards the Major-General, JAMES WALKER was the first Political Commissioner in Gujarát to carry out the treaty with the Peshwá at Bassín, and the subsequent substantive compact with the Gáikawád. He supplied the Government with a series of valuable reports upon the country, its resources, and its people, which were lithographed some years afterwards for the guidance of the different public departments in their enquiries in the several provinces, which began gradually to fall either to our arms or to our policy. Unfortunately the Major allowed his mind to take the bias of the wily native who was his chief guide and authority in his comprehensive yet valuable aim. A list of these diplomatists and the stipends they respectively enjoyed, is an interesting document; commencing with the date of their several nominations to office :—

1802	January.—Major Walker	Rs.36,000	per annum.
1809	„ Captain (afterwards Governor of Bombay, and the *Baronet*, Sir James Rivett) Carnac	„ 24,000	„
1820	March.—James Williams, C. S.	„ 50,000	„
1837	November.—James Sutherland, C. S.	„ 50,000	„
1840	August.—William Sprot Boyd, C. S.	„ 50,000	„
1845	July.—Sir Robert Keith Arbuthnot, *Bart.*, C. S.	„ 40,000	„
1846	April.—William Charles Andrews, C. S.	„ 40,000	„
1847	May.—Lieutenant-Colonel James Outram, C. B.	„ 38,400	„

The name of the present Resident has travelled far for exploits upon battle-fields, quite as well as a paper-controversy with the Historian of the Peninsular War. His Assistant is Lieutenant MONTAGU BATTYE—a daring young soldier, and who distinguished himself particularly as Aide-de-Camp to General ENGLAND in the action of Hykulzie. Former there were two assistants, one upon Rupees 1000, and his junior on Rupees 750 per mensem. Mr T. OGILVIE, C. S., was in charge of the Residency during the interval occurring between Mr BOYD'S death and Sir ROBERT ARBUTHNOT'S

appointment. He is said to have drawn up the first and elaborate history of the present dynasty of Barodá for his Government while in office.

In 1845, the Mihí and Rewá Khántá subdivisions transpired as the duties connected therewith embarrassed the Resident, or Commissioner rather, as he was then called—in his political relations with the Gáikawád, and was the occasion of a tardy, laborious, and an expensive, communication with the Western Cabinet. The present Political Agents in these quarters are on the receipt of Rupees 1400 per mensem each, besides an English establishment; their functions consist in collecting the tribute to be paid to the Gáikawád by a series of tributary Chieftains, and in trying criminals suits occurring in their jurisdiction. They are in immediate correspondence with the Bombay Government, and the machinery of business is thus considerably facilitated.

3rd February.—While at Ahmedabád, intelligence was received of the death of Síyájí Ráu; and the native tradesmen, shopkeepers, and bankers, out of respect to the memory of the Prince, closed their various establishments and suspended business for three days. The homage was paid at once to the position of, and the respect entertained for, the Prince. His biography was consequently of some little importance to me, and I will attempt to delineate with some clearness a probable likeness out of the mass of fiction and (possible) fact with which I have been presented.

Siyaji Rau, the late Gáikawád, ascended the *gadí* at the early age of twenty, and during his reign—which occupied a period of fully eight-and-twenty years—his measures were of that mould which led the monarch to be forgotten in the individual. He had been frequently surrounded by wily statesmen, whose object was perhaps more personal than the interests of the country required, but the removal of the last and most dangerous minister—Vínirám Adelrám by name—led Síyájí solely and wholly to control affairs; when he displayed a firmness and prudence which justified the expectations of his English ally. If his fault were a blind regard for accumulating his private and pecuniary resources, his character was exempt

from those blemishes which are almost invariably found in Oriental princes. He detested, and did not in himself evince, profligacy; and the peculiar bent of his mind prevented dissipation or extravagance. Amid all his statistical arrangements, he found sufficient leisure and commanded equal enterprise to embark his wealth in speculation: he was the chief banker of his country—the Hesse Cassel of the Barodá dominions. His principal monetary establishment was conducted under the designation of Ganesh Ishwar; while branches of the parent office were formed in the principal towns under his rule. The private wealth—in bullion alone—he is said to have bequeathed his family, falls little short of Three *Karor* rupees, or £3,000,000 sterling.

Síyájí was quite a man of business; at all events, precision formed the distinguishing feature of his character. Had he not been born to a throne; he would undoubtedly have signalised himself in any walk of life that he may have sought for eminence. And this trait was even exemplified in domestic matters: upon the birth of every child in his family, legitimate or otherwise, its portion was settled within twenty-four hours of its introduction to the world, with all the formula of office; and the parent ceased therefrom to entertain further concern on this point.

Síyájí was a keen diplomatist, of the narrow intriguing school: and, it is said, he formed no intimacies unless they suited his purpose; casting off such connexions when the occasion had passed for their counsel, their use, or their support. Singularly enough, in dispite of this general policy which marked his deportment, he appears to have feared and admired Mr. Williams, to whom he would crouch with all the feebleness of disappointed energy. By all who were his subjects, Síyájí was dreaded: and at the mention of his name, many a dark machination has been known to perish, and robbers have been led to cast away their spoil rather than retain it. His latter years were clouded by mistrust in the heir to his honors. Displaying even in boyhood a passion for every wantonness, ill-associates soon rendered him an accomplished debauchee; and as his boon compani-

ons became his advisers, in an evil moment he joined a cabal towards deposing his father. The plot was timely discovered, and the son incurred for a season his parent's displeasure: the lesson was too ominous an one to be repeated. Síyájí commanded no extraordinary ability: but he possessed the happy art to prepare himself for difficulty, and as the danger approached, he understood precisely how to contend with it. The Maharátas have never been famed for politeness, though notorious for the grossest adulation; yet Síyájí owned the address and the cunning, to fawn, to wheedle, and to flatter, so as to render his victim insensible to his actual purpose. In pecuniary matters, or gain of any kind, he was bold almost to insult: several years ago, when influenced by such a spirit, he appears to have made personally some extraordinary demands of the Resident: 'very good,' replied the English official—'you might also add to the communication which you send me for the Government, that you propose visiting Benares upon a pilgrimage.' Aware of the drift of this answer, he still maintained his conversation, seeking larger concessions, so as to render the matter chimerical. 'My reply has been already given your Highness'—remarked the Resident. 'Ah well!' continued the illustrious visitor, with his matchless assurance—'it is agreeable to wile time in projecting the result of human efforts;' and he salaamed himself out with the left hand, the privilege alone of the Gáikawád sovereignty.

Síyájí's last illness was not one of considerable time, but he was three days dying. When he believed his final dissolution arriving, he sent for the Resident, with whom he had a long and private interview: he then earnestly entreated the renewal to his family of that fostering aid which had always been extended to him,—for he labored under a painful hallucination that his dominions were to pass away from his house with his death; begged the protection of the British Government to the various members of his household; supplicated a confirmation of all past amicable relations with his heirs; and upon concluding his purpose, took a solemn, if not imposing, farewell of his English Ambassador. If there be truth in this very

probable occurrence, no man allowed such a happy display 'of the ruling passion strong in death' as Síyájí Ráu Gáikawád. But it will be said of Síyájí, with all his foibles—that as a father, he was just; as a judge, severe; and as a monarch, discreet. His loss will only be felt when his merits begin to be known. He died without a struggle or a groan; and so exhausted was nature, that it was some minutes before his attendants were aware of the last mortal change which had befallen their lord. In age, he had not attained his fiftieth year: but in appearance, the physiognomist would have told of an older man—the child of avarice, with boundless wealth—the man of cares, with little to distract the thought. Yet his death was universally felt and bewailed in his dominions, and it was a household name which had passed away; for he had reigned so long that old men had gone, and young men had grown grey since he had mounted the gadí; and Síyájí, and Barodá, and gold, had almost become synonymous terms, so that all would run the same vigorous race, untired, undisturbed, and continual. How different was Síyájí, according to the Saráwak estimate given me? He loved his position, for the influence it gave him to obtain money; he loved his dominions, for the revenue they furnished; but, superior to the love of power and of country was the love of money: and were he tendered his gold and exile, they would have been preferred to all political influence and patriotic associations. Peace, however, to the manes of the dead! Perhaps this expression is more unkind than true, and its very harshness robs it of much of its value.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE history of the Gáikawád power.—Progress of events.—The reigning Prince.—Synoptical view of the departments of his dominion, their revenue and population.

ONE of the few surviving Maharáta powers, and certainly the most opulent of these, which sprang with the glorious empire which Sívájí had promised his countrymen in that bold design of realising the predominance of Bráhmanical philosophy and a Bráhmanical Government through the length and breadth of Hindusthán, is the dynasty of Barodá. In the developement of its rise and progress there are few materials to collate or command; but these materials have been copiously, correctly, and lucidly employed by the skilful and the able historian of Maharáshtra—GRANT DUFF. In the collaboration and arrangement of his materials, few men have been more successful, but in communicating these he has been obliged to adopt chronological accuracy, and the student in consequence has of necessity the perusal of his voluminous publication to ascertain the information he desires. If along with a reference to this very valuable as erudite production, the reader were to bestow some attention on the several works on the Maharáta War, which have appeared at various hands, his knowledge on this point will be more satisfactorily attained, simply from acquaintance with different views —sometimes perhaps inimical—upon corresponding facts and similar events. GRANT DUFF has the advantage of being both sententious and precise. Facts however appear to stand thus:

Towards the dawn of the eighteenth century, and in the military service of the Rájá of Kolápur, served an officer by name DAMAJI GAIKAWAD, who for his valour and general deportment appears to have won the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, or *Senápatí* as native archives exhibit the designation. An opportunity soon offered for Damájí to establish more firmly his known prowess and to advance him to high honors; and at the battle of Belápur (1720) his own conduct, with that of his sons, led to the promotion of Damájí to second in command of the Maharáta troops, and the acquisition of the title of *Shamsher Báhádur*. Hence the origin of the Gáikawád family. The family designative of *Gáikawád*, or cow-keeper —an office of sanctity in Bráhmanical hagiology—has employed both the patience and ingenuity of FORBES in his *Oriental Memoirs*: Caste, however, that great engine of Hindu policy, assigns the Gáikawád family rank only short of the Rájput—the first, and most valuable, earthly type of divinity. Damájí died a few months following his advancement, and his appointment was filled up by his nephew, the son of Jankojí Gáikawád, by name Pílájí, —an active intriguing political character, and a bold soldier. Shortly after this nomination, Pílájí proceeded to Gujarát, where at the onset he sustained several defeats, in various forms, at the hands of Suját Khán, the valiant Nawáb of Surát. His brother, Rustam Alí Khán, however, from a desire to acquire the government of Ahmedábád, entered upon a truce with Pílájí, and their troops in company proceeded towards the intended scene of action. Prior to this step, Nízám-ul-mulk was employing his people to gain the assistance of Pílájí in behalf of his uncle Hámed Khán. Píláji, with true Maharáta spirit, watched the progress of events to exhibit his party-colors. Rustam Alí, however, had a skirmish with Hámed Khán at Aras to the west of the Mihí; where he drove his combatant back with the fire of his artillery. Immediately after, it would appear, Pílájí concluded terms of reciprocity with Hámed Khán: and animated by this feeling in an approaching encounter between the Muslim troops, Pílájí advised his associate from Baroch to charge the enemy, leaving the guns to the

protection of a party in the rear—counsel which was unfortunately regarded by the listener, for no sooner had Rustam Alí engaged with Hámed Khán, than Pilájí overturned or limbered the gun-carriages and broke upon Rustam Alí. The moment this Chieftain perceived the new turn of events, his rapidly thinned ranks, and the unhappy end he felt assured must befall him if made a prisoner, with the certainty of defeat now before him—he stabbed himself. Pilájí, however, obtained a large interest in the Cháuth for his service in this engagement, and then with Kantájí (the agent for the Rájá in Gujarát at the time) mutually employed their troops in plunder. Cambay participated in this system of taxation, and the English factory there had to contribute for its part Rs. 5000; much to the chagrin of Mr. Innes the chief. The Governor of Ahmedábád, however, ceded the Cháuth west of the Mihí, to Kantájí and to the east to Pílájí, and after the sack of Cambay, with the approaching rains, Pílájí retired to settle for the season at Soṇegarh near Surát. These circumstances occurred in 1730. The Rájá of Kolapur, however, had now completed a treaty with Sar Bolan Khán, which gave him sole supremacy in the finances of the Cháuth, and an old score which Nizám-ul-mulk was desirous to arrange with the Rájá, led him to employ this fact to Dhabáre, the Maharáta Commander-in-Chief, so as to give him umbrage and to take part with the Nízám; and Pílájí, as the Dhabáre's second, adhered to his fortunes. Long before Nízám-ul-mulk could join them, Bájí-ráu met the discontented troops between Barodá and Dhubái—both places at the time in possession of Pílájí, on the 1st April 1731, and gave them signal defeat: the Dhabáre was killed with many others; Pílájí lost a son, and himself had been wounded, but contrived his escape. Bájí-ráu nevertheless was not wanting in either the policy or address to conciliate the defeated in the civil war: and the son of the deceased military chief was appointed to his father's post, and Pílájí confirmed in his previous position as second, with the title of *Sena Khas Kheyl*, or 'Leader of the Sovereign's Tribe.' Not long after he was wrested

of Barodá by the Mogul's forces under the Fáusdar of Abhí Síng, the Governor of Gujarát. With all Pílájí's eccentricities, he appears to have been popular in the country; and the conqueror consequently acquired little advantage in this victory. No sooner that he became intimate of this circumstance, Abhí Síng upon the plea of an amicable convention dispatched some of his emissaries to Pílájí, upon the plausible pretext of arranging the preliminaries towards this purpose. In a tent at a village called Dhákur, in the district of Táusrá, Pílájí—himself so treacherous,—unsuspiciously received the parties on several occasions: the last of these interviews was prolonged to the first fall of night. The adherents of Abhí Síng then took their leave: one of them, however, returned to the tent with the professed object of recovering some forgotten article, but availed of the opportunity to advance towards Pílájí, and while whispering some fictitious plot planted a dagger well home to the heart. The blow had told instantly and fatally. The surrounding attendants of the Gáikawád dispatched the murderer upon the spot: his fellows had fled. But the object anticipated in this foul assassination recoiled upon the heads of its projectors. Pílájí, it was said, was popular in the country—and, with this event, friendship endeavoured to rouse any latent impression, and to employ this feeling towards revenging his death. Díllá, the Dessái of Pádra, near Barodá, roused the Bhíls and Kolís of the country to a sense of their personal injury, and as the strength of the Muslím garrison of Barodá proceeded to quell this demonstration, Díllá gave the intimation to Mahadájí Gáikawád, the brother of Pílájí, at the time occupying Jámbusír, of the state of things, and advised his march upon the city. The suggestion was adopted, and from that period—February 1732—Barodá has been ever a possession of the Gáikawád family. Upon learning this intelligence, Damájí, the eldest surviving son of the murdered Gáikawád, issued from his father's retreat at Sonegarh, ravaged the larger portion of the Gujarát Province, and by rapid and effective measures compelled Abhí Síng to abandon Ahmedábád. So powerful was Damájí's influence now within the compass that he had mas-

tered, that his father's compeer—Kantají Kadam Bhande, to whom Pílájí was obliged to make room in point of courtesey—deemed it advisable to quit Gujarát; and in the recovery of Ahmedábád from the deputy of Abhí Síng, the delegated authority,—Najíb-ud-dáula, Momín Khán,—of the Mogul Emperor found it to his advantage to court the alliance of the new dynasty established in the country. Indulging in a spirit of predatory warfare, which appears to have been natural to the Maharáta in this age, in 1742, he advanced upon Málwa, whence he was obliged to retire by the more powerful arrangements put in progress by its legitimate Governor for the protection of his country and the expulsion of the invader. Two years afterwards we find him at Satárá with the Peshwá, where he promises to account for the contributions levied by him in the Málwá country; and though his appearance in Gujarát was urgent at this time, he contrived a prolonged stay at the seat of the Maharáta Empire. Some time afterwards, when summoned to be present at a period specified at the Sháu Rájá's Court, he pointedly avoided notice of the mandate or its demand. The year following he is invited by the infamous widow and vice-regent, Tárá Byí, during the absence of Bálají Ráu, the Peshwá, to proceed to the assistance of Satárá in consequence of plots for its recovery by revolters; an assumed reason to lure the unfortunate Damájí and his troops to the support of her real purpose. He blindly proceeded thither with a force of 15,000 men, but he had scarcely gained his destination when Bálají had returned, upon an acquaintance with Tará Byí's proceedings, and a belief upon his part that Damájí was conversant with this intended subversion of his power. Pílájí allured Damájí to the environs of his encampment, and upon a favourable opportunity seized the Gáikawád's person and dispatched him to Puná, where he was cast in close confinement to 1747, and enthralled in more comfortable durance until 1753, when various circumstances operated for the release of Damájí, of which he himself was not a little anxious, but which a heavy douceur to a subordinate official, properly and timely employed, mainly effected. The principal terms of release were—

reciprocal interest in equal moieties of all the Gáikawád's then possessions in Gujarát, and to pay fifteen lakhs of rupees as indemnity for all past contributions due at the time. There were other and numerous subordinate provisions—as fidelity in assistance (Military) when necessary; a certain annual payment in behalf of the *Senápati*, or Commander-in-Chief, &c. From this period we are to date the Peshwá's interest in *communibus annis* with the Gáikawád in the Gujarát country, in a permanent form. Damájí returned to the monarchy he had acquired. In 1755, the fall of Ahmedábád gave the Maharátas the ascendancy in Gujarát, and to employ the words of Major WALKER, the first Resident, in writing to the Bombay Government on 20th July, 1806, from information supplied by Amrat Lál, Agent and Vakíl for nearly thirty years on behalf of the Peshwá's Subáh of Ahmedábád—"although they obtained possession of Barodá, and some other places, their establishment should be reckoned from the fall of Ahmedábád in the above year." The rebellion of Ragunát Ráu in 1768, gave Damájí an opportunity of once more relieving himself of the Peshwá's yoke, and with this view he dispatched his son Govínd Ráu to the banks of the Gudáverí with a strong force. Ragunát's army unfortunately was defeated, and Govínd made a prisoner. He was then held as a hostage for the fulfilment of his father's stipulation under the convention executed between Pílájí and him at Puná. Not long after, Damájí died: the circumstance gave rise to contentions for the vacant *gadí* (throne) between his sons Govínd Ráu and Fate Sing Gáikawád. Govínd's claim to the succession does not appear to have been disputed by the Government of Puná, where he was detained at the time; but by means of fines, *nazars*, and intended levies, falling little short in the aggregate of fifty laks and a half of rupees, he was granted the dignities and territories of his deceased parent. Two years afterwards, in 1771, Fate Síng, the youngest son of Damájí, proceeds to Puná and advocates with the Peshwá the cause of Síyají—a hopeless idiot—the first-born son of his father. Policy dictated to the premier the annihilation of the Gáikawád interest in Gujarát, and the supremacy of

his own power—by these intestinal household disputes. He encouraged Fate Síng's proceedings, and Síyají—imbecile as he was,—was granted the gadí of Barodá in supercession of Govínd Ráu, and with Fate Síng as his *Mutálik* or Minister. Fate however was as crafty as those with whom he intrigued, and the moment he had accomplished his aim, he proceeded northward and established his brother upon the royal cushion of their father. Fate Síng was now resolved upon maintaining their position so effectually as to defeat any designs of the Peshwá, and during 1772 he made very liberal overtures to the Bombay Government with the view of acquiring a convention both offensive and defensive, which however the Western Cabinet declined. A few months subsequently, on the 12th Jan. 1773, there was a brief contract completed between Fate Síng and Mr PRICE respecting the Baroch revenues. Meanwhile Govínd Ráu again acquires the ascendancy in a new Peshwá's Court, and starts for his dominions with the support of the Puná Government. Disputes ran high from this time between the rival brothers, and Ragobá proceeded with his forces to the assistance of his protegé. The English having already concluded a treaty with the Peshwá, the services of Colonel KEATING's force were placed at his disposal in the present matter; and though Fate Síng at the onset gained some partial and inconsiderable advantages, the battle of *Aras* soon made him earnest in his endeavours to effect some pacific convention; and Colonel KEATING, influenced by some political motive, effected this in June 1775, rather than advance upon and reduce the City of Barodá—Govínd Ráu was provided with a *jághír* in the Dekkan by Ragoba, in consequence of the Peshwá's provisions under the treaty. Early in 1779, the Bombay Government was desirous of an alliance with the Gáikawád, as the head of the Barodá state, but without pledging itself to reconcile its domestic differences. The spirit of procrastination on the part of Fate Síng postponed every positive arrangement, when General GODDARD, who had now arrived in Gujarát, opened a direct communication with the Prince, which he appeared desirous to evade, or rather to enter upon any such

negotiations as the General had proposed. GODDARD now moved his force; crossing the Taptí on the New Year's Day of 1780, and took possession of the various towns immediately to the northward on his line of march, and reduced the City of Dhubái. The Gáikawád abandoned his dissembling mood, and signed, on the 26th January, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, on the terms proposed by Governor HORNBY, and approved by the Supreme Government. Fate Sing Gáikawád died, from the effects of a fall from the first floor of his house, in December 1789. The regency was then assumed by his younger brother Mánájí Ráu, and in this usurped step he was confirmed—to the detriment of the interests of his elder brother Govínd Ráu—by complimenting the Government of Puná with a *nazar* of thirty-three laks of rupees and upwards, and upon engaging himself to pay up certain arrears which had been due by his lately deceased brother. Differences arose in the family circle, which led to foreign interference, and while various parties espoused different interests, Mánájí's own death occurred; and after some little further difficulty, Govínd Ráu obtained the regency two months following his demise, in December 1793. Seven years afterwards, in the month of September, Govínd himself paid the debt of nature, but not till he had reduced the City of Ahmedábád, and afterwards farmed the Peshwá's share of revenue in Gujarát for five years and at five láks annually. He left a large family, but the contest to the succession lay between the eldest sons by marriage and concubinal intercourse. Anand, the former, appears an imbecile—the latter, Kanhájí, a spirited daring character. The minister of Anand suggested to have a force in readiness to quell these feuds if supported by Governor DUNCAN: this suggestion was partially acted upon in dispatching a small auxiliary force under Major JAMES WALKER, early in 1802, and which proceeded as far as Karí. Its inefficiency led to the presence of Colonel Sir WILLIAM CLARKE with all the disposable troops the Bombay Government could afford or supply. An engagement ensued with the partisans of Kanhájí in April, and not long after Mulhar was obliged to evacuate Karí. Sir WILLIAM CLARKE then re-

turned to the Presidency with a portion of the troops; and Lieutenant-Colonel WOODINGTON remaining, subject to the orders of Major WALKER, who had been appointed Political Commissioner in Gujarát.

This new arrangement, however agreeable to Ráují Apáji, the *Vakil* or minister, was soon to be the occasion of more serious and beneficial consequence to the interests of Government, whose cause was now supported. The high talent and clear judgment of Major WALKER, led him readily to discover the pecuniary embarrassments of the Native Government, and the means which drained the resources of the country. The boldness of the proposed undertaking was only equal to the assurance of the mercenary guards hitherto employed by the Gáikawád, and the Arabs who had held supremacy at Barodá, soon perceived the consequences of the intended innovation, and created a revolt. They demanded extravagant concessions; and they held the person of the Gáikawád, who was residing in the city, as surety for their settlement. Major WALKER attempted to pacify the daring miscreants, but failing in these endeavours, he wrote to Bombay and obtained the appearance of H. M.'s 75th regiment of foot, which, with the subsidiary force under Colonel WOODINGTON, reduced their stronghold after a siege of ten days, and which led to the surrender of the revolters on the 28th December, upon the stipulation that all arrears justly due were to be discharged (which amounted to seventeen and a half láks of rupees,) and their departure from the provinces. A body of men, however, violated the latter part of the pledge by proceeding northward, but they were soon overtaken by Major (afterwards Major-General Sir GEORGE) HOLMES, and so treated as to prevent its proving quite so dangerous as in its original strength. A new and definitive treaty of general defensive alliance was concluded with the Court of Barodá on the 21st April 1805, "for the purpose"—to quote the precise words of GRANT DUFF,—"of consolidating the stipulations contained in three preceding agreements drawn up in March, June, and July 1802, and making some additions and alterations which were deemed expedient. The Gáikawád had previously received a subsidiary force of two thousand

men, and he now engaged to maintain three thousand infantry and a company of artillery, which were to be stationed within his territory, but only employed on occasions of some importance. Districts yielding rupees 11,70,000* were assigned for their support. The districts of Cháurásí, Chíklí, and Kaira, together with the Gáikawád's share of the Cháuth of Surát, were ceded to the Company. The British Government having advanced, or become security on account of, the Gáikawád's Government to the amount of nearly forty-one and a half láks of rupees, the revenue of districts yielding nearly fourteen láks annually was appropriated for liquidating this debt. The Gáikawád agreed to submit the examination and adjustment of the outstanding accounts and debts between him and the Peshwá, to the British Government; to receive no European into his service; and to commit no act of aggression against any other power without the acquiescence of the British Government. Such was the substance of the principal articles of the treaty of Barodá, concluded by Major WALKER on the part of the Company, and intended to render the engagements with the Gáikawád State consonant to those of the treaty of Bassín."

Since the time that Govínd Ráu Gáikawád had gained the administration of the Barodá Government, the claims of the Peshwá had been set aside, particularly after the farming of the moiety of the Puná Government in the province. Major—now Lieutenant-Colonel—WALKER had by his diplomatic capacity saved the country from many of those disasters which the arrogance or ignorance of vain and weak men generally occasion. When he assumed his political functions, the financial annual sheet shewed a set-off of only fifty-five láks of rupees against disbursements little short

* Dholká	Rs.	4,50,000
Naríad	„	1,75,000
Bíjápur	„	1,30,000
Mátar	„	1,30,000
Mundá	„	1,10,000
Tapa of Karí	„	25,000
Khímkatodra	„	50,000
Warat or Katiwar	„	1,00,000

of eighty láks. The monarch himself was painfully embarrassed by the system of extortion employed by his *sáukárs*, or bankers, and the justifiable interference of Colonel WALKER saved both the country and its ruler. He also personally accompanied the Gáikawád's army in the annual visits paid different parts of his territory, and, by his personal presence and humane disposition, prevented much of that bitterness which generally accompanies the progress of an Indian Prince. Kánhají—the wayward and ambitious—was pensioned: at first with freedom of action, but his intriguing spirit led finally to his removal as a state-prisoner to Madras, where he died. And his confederate, Mulhar Ráu, passed his last days in the vicinity of Bombay, after years of general confinement in its fort.// But Colonel WALKER ascertained that the ministry which followed Ráují's death was unequal to the talent required for their position, and eventually reposed every trust in Gangádhar Shástrí, the secretary to Fate Sing, the brother and heir apparent to the Gáikawád. The tragical fate, however, of this young statesman (who very soon became the guiding authority in the palace,) not only lends some importance to this reign, but the events which ensued gave a new aspect to matters both in the Dekkan and Gujarát. The expiry of the renewed lease by the Gáikawad of the Peshwá's share of revenue in the Gujarát districts in June 1814, and the anxiety of the latter once more to acquire political supremacy in the country for which he believed himself insufficiently remunerated if paid a sum quintuple to that hitherto expected, and independent of the long and heavy arrears due by the Gáikawád which continued unliquidated. The Gáikawád contended the invalidity of the large portion of this demand, and upon very legitimate grounds, without availing himself at all of the intended liberal concession of the Peshwá of waiving more than half the presumed claim, "as the chief cause of the embarrassments of the Barodá Government originated in the attachment of the family to the cause of his father." The British Government, closely observant of passing matters, preferred that the two courts should amicably and directly satisfy each other without foreign interference. The Peshwá

objected to the first envoy—Bápu Mirál—sent to his court, and though it was proposed in September 1811, that Gangádhár Shástrí should be the next agent for the settlement of existing claims, and to which the Peshwá raised no explicit refusal, subsequently (in 1814) when he arrived at Puná, a frivolous pretence was availed of, or set up, against even seeing him. Nearly a year had gone by, and finding his mission a vain one, and after consultation with the Honorable Mounstuart Elphinstone, the Resident at the Peshwá's Court, Gangádhar addressed the Government, communicated his immediate return to Barodá, and consigning the adjudication of the Gáikawád's cause to the British Government of India. It should be mentioned that prior to Gangádhar's departure for Pooná, the Gáikawád had received a formal guarantee for the safety of his Ambassador, in consequence of the unfavorable impression abroad respecting the Peshwá's premier—Trímbakjí. The intimation of Gangádhar's approaching departure led the Prince and his minister to alter their deportment towards him: the most salient point in his character was discovered and assailed, and Gangádhar, hopeful of realising all that his own sovereign desired, was readily duped by the gross dissimulation of those with whom he employed his political tactics. A pretended marriage between the Peshwá's sister-in-law, and the Barodá Minister's son, was trumped up, and actually in progress, but prior to its consummation, the Peshwá proposed a pilgrimage to Pandarpur, whither Gangádhar was to, and did, accompany him. His coadjutor, Bápu Mirál, who (has been already named, and) held the less prominent position now at Puná, both cautioned and entreated him not to join the Prince, but Gangádhar not only lent a deaf ear to his solicitations, but refused his accompanying him. On the 14th July 1815, Gangádhar, who had been dining with the Peshwá, followed him at nightfall, with a small retinue, to the temple frequented by the Prince, and after performing his devotions, and paying his respects to the Peshwá, he quitted the edifice for the quarters that he occupied. He was waylaid on the road and barbarously murdered, at the instigation, it was said, of Trímbakjí, and with the tacit approval of his mas-

ter; while the deed was looked upon as no ordinary atrocity in having been committed upon a Bráhman, and on the holy soil of Pandarpur. Bápu Mirál did not hesitate to point at Trímbakjí as the party directly implicated in the murder; and while the Barodá sovereign appealed to the British Government, that Government deemed its interference justifiable from the peculiar circumstances attending the transactions with the late unfortunate Commissioner of the Gáikawád. Trímbakjí was afterwards surrendered and incarcerated in our jail at Táná, from whence he made his escape by learning of a Maharáta groom, in the service of one of the English officers of the garrison, the means in employment for this purpose, and which were communicated by way of vocal melody while 'airing his master's horse,' and whose plot was undiscovered at the time by the European troops who formed the garrison being utterly ignorant of the dialect. Circumstances were now gathering which shewed the inconstancy of the Peshwá; and the British Commissioner at his court, at the instance of his Government, agreed to re-farm to the Gáikawád his share in the different provinces in Gujarát, in which he was mutually interested with the Barodá Prince. Accordingly, a new treaty, under date the 6th November 1815, was concluded with the Gáikawád, with a view of consolidating his interests, by means of which the irregular troops should be disbanded and his subsidiary force strengthened,—towards the maintenance of which additional districts were assigned to the British Government.

With the dissolution of the dynasty of the vicious and intriguing Bájí Ráu, the Peshwá, the Bombay Government assumed all the rights vested in them; and the Gáikawád and British now conjointly directed the districts in Gujarát. In November 1817, an augmentation of the subsidiary force occasioned the cession in perpetuity of the City of Ahmedábád; and in 1818, Anund Ráu Gáikawád, the imbecile, died. He was succeeded by his younger brother Síyájí, whose character has been already sketched. During Mr Elphinstone's visit (while Governor of Bombay) in 1820, the new ruler desired to free himself of certain presumed trammels, and assume the sole

direction of his dominions; engaging to disburse the liabilities of the state in seven years, by annual payments of twenty láks of rupees. Síyájí not only failed in the performance of this condition, and in the required strength of his contingent troops, but had also anticipated the revenues of property set apart for the benefit of his creditors. This proceeding compelled the sequestration of certain districts for the reimbursement of his liabilities, and for which the Bombay Government had become guarantee. Síyájí took umbrage at this determined step; and it led to the appearance of the Earl of Clare (at the time President of the Council of the Western Presidency) at Barodá in April 1832, when an amicable adjustment was effected of existing difficulties. Not many years afterwards, Síyájí again infringed upon gratutious prerogatives he claimed; and Pítlád was held for the maintenance of the Gujarát Irregular Horse. Sir JAMES CARNAC—the same individual who nearly a quarter of a century before had been Resident at this Court as mere Captain CARNAC, and who was in consequence personally acquainted with the Gáikawád, but had now been raised to the Government of Bombay—proceeded to Barodá, and obtained him revised stipulations. Ganpat Ráu, his eldest son, assumed the reigns of the government upon the death of his father.

Thirteen months after this event, I was prompted to renew my visit to Gujarát, when I had occasion once more to see Barodá. The time was a happy one: for an Equestrian Company, who had astonished the natives of Bombay, was engaged by the reigning Prince, for six nights, at a thousand rupees each night. Through a quondam fellow-passenger on board of one of the local steamers, I was introduced to Captain PATRICK THEODORE FRENCH, the officiating Political Resident (during the absence of Colonel OUTRAM upon medical certificate for a year in Egypt and Asia Minor); and after availing myself of an invitation to dinner, where a goodly company was met, we proceeded, *en masse*, in the numerous equipages awaiting us from the court to conduct us to one of these entertainments, and where I

should have the opportunity of seeing the Gáikawád and his family without the formalities attending an introduction at the palace. Captain FRENCH, Major LEWIS BROWN, (the hero of Kahun,) and I, got into the first open carriage. Flambeaux, scouts, outriders, and a cavalry escort, were not wanting to lend importance to the presence of the British Ambassador. Upon our entrance into the city, guards of honor were found variously distributed throughout our line of road—as we rolled along with the disagremens of smoke, dust, and hideous cadences of the human voice, and the native trumpet: and at last, about half-past eight, we got to our destination, —the great elephant-yard, where the intended exhibition was to take place in an expressly prepared pavillion. The Maharájá had anticipated our arrival; and his *kílídár* or minister approached the carriage and duly saluted its occupants, commencing with Captain FRENCH. The royal band now played the national anthem of England, and the Resident with his company quitted their equipages—the guards formed into line and presented arms as we passed into the pavillion. His Highness the Maharájá Srí Ganpat Ráu Gáikawád had descended from the dais, and, after shaking hands with the Resident, we were each respectively presented. The Maharájá advanced and took the right of his throne, where the younger branches of his family were seated, and who respectively came up to us along with the heir-presumptive—Appá Sáhíb, and the Gáikawád's pretty daughter, (with large languishing eyes,) of about eight years of age.

The reigning Gáikawád has finely marked features, but dissipated habits give him an older appearance than he ought really to own. In stature he is about five feet seven, built rather square than otherwise; and in manners he possesses all the vulgarity of the Maharáta without any of the assumed courtesy that his father could always summon and play to advantage. His brother Appá is both a finer made man and with a comelier address; and in character he is said to possess sterner materials than the Maharájá. The reigning Prince, however, has the advantage of being liberal in disposition; and Captain FRENCH, with his knowledge of the native

inclination, allows this ductility of spirit to take a happier tendency than might be found in most eastern monarchs—and the foundation of Schools, the introduction of legitimate and liberal arts, models of machinery, the extension and metalling of roads and other purposes,—happily occupy his benevolence: and for such may Ganpat Ráu Gáikawád long be spared; and his dominion one that political necessity may prove unnecessary to be absorbed when its Government is thus equitably administered.

Synoptical View of the Territory, Revenue, and Population, of the Gáikawád Power.

Departments.	Area.		Revenue.	Population.
	Length.	Breadth.		
Barodá	37	27	Co.'s Rs. 9,50,000	1,60,000
Sadlá	23	12	„ 2,70,000	85,000
Pitlád	33	30	„ 6,50,000	3,50,000
Pádra	24	10	„ 50,000	23,000
Wágharíyá	15	18	„ 17,000	20,000
Dhuboí	18	12	„ 25,000	1,20,000
Sáunkhíyá	15	12	„ 63,000	50,000
Tílakwárá	14	6	„ 32,000	20,000
Sínorí	18	9	„ 2,00,000	1,00,000
Roral	12	8	„ 60,000	40,000
Kund	5	3	„ 5,000	3,000
Surát Atávísí	65	49	„ 9,00,000	3,50,000
Atarsumbá	14	13	„ 30,000	40,000
Bíyál	20	16	„ 1,50,000	80,000
Karí	30	28	„ 5,00,000	1,30,000
Víjápur	20	19	„ 1,50,000	1,00,000
Vísnágar	7	5	„ 1,00,000	50,000
Wadnagar	7	6	„ 70,000	40,000
Keralu	14	10	„ 60,000	60,000
Pattan	25	23	„ 5,00,000	1,40,000
Amrola	48	30	„ 3,30,000	2,80,000
Ukrámandal	26	20	„ 45,000	9,000
Total	490	366	Co.'s Rs. 51,57,000	22,50,000

N. B.—During my stay at Ahmedábád I had urged upon a couple of natives to procure statements of this description from Gáikawád officers with whom they were upon terms of intimacy. Some idea might be formed of the accounts furnished—when one paper signified the population of

Barodá at 3,00,000, and its partner computed it at 2,50,000: both however very zealously and minutely brought the financial department to a *karor* of rupees and little better. I submitted to my informants that Dr. GIBSON's estimate of the population of Barodá only came to 1,40,000, and that the widest margin allowed the agrarian and other branches of revenue of the treasury was 75 láks. Upon this, they proceeded afresh: and obtained for me half a dozen other very conflicting averages. These papers were set aside at the time. While at Barodá, I elicited from several influential natives, information which led me to adopt the mean of their more honest tabular summaries. That the present document is not quite so correct as one might desire, I am willing to own: that it is the first and best paper yet submitted upon the subject, I am equally desirous to maintain.

CHAPTER XIX.

LEAVE Barodá—Míyágáum.—Arrival at Baroch.—Its characteristics and present condition.—Taking of the City by General WEDDDRBURNE, and Colonel WOODINGTON.—The Cotton trade and Experimental Farm.—Return to Surát.—Resumé.—L'ENVOI.

5TH FERRUARY.—Started from Barodá at 3 A. M. and arrived at Itolí—a stage of better than ten miles—in five hours: partook of breakfast here at the Travellers' bangalá,—an old, miserable building, and with the general accommodation of two square rooms supplied with a table and bed a-piece, and half a dozen chairs promiscuously arranged, but all in crazy condition, and peculiar to Gujarát. Left Itolí a little after 10 o'clock, and crossed a tiny stream at the foot of the village, arriving by four in the afternoon at Míyágáum, a Gáikawád village—distant some twelve miles from the last station. The larger portion of the country now passed was cultivated with cotton of that kind known at the Bombay market as the Baroch staple. At dawn of day, about two kos from Itolí, saw a couple of antelopes—handsome animals with slate coats—bounding across the open plain; started several coveys of partridge; green pigeons, ring-necked doves, and a species of floriken, appeared abundant. Bishop HEBER's glowing pencil describes the scenery on this tract as *á la Salvator Rosa;* the country is

literally cut up with ravines, banked by sandy mounds covered with brushwood and jagged trees, and the traveller might cross miles of such country without the least apprehension of concealed banditti and all the *et ceteras* attendant upon such characters. Salvator's fancy was of a higher, bolder—more powerful cast; witness his Philosophy contemplating death and destruction amid the wild scenery of the Abruzzi hills: but Lady MORGAN has done the painter that justice which his country had long withheld from him and his works.

The evening being before me, I went over the village of Míyágáum. It comprises about two hundred roofs, chiefly owned by Saráwaks, who carry on a thriving trade in this locality: they have a couple of temples here, devoid of the usual cryptic chapels—the one I visited was in dilapidated condition, from age apparently; the shrine being contained in a square building of about twelve feet, with a dome after the Mogli wretched superficies. The figures of Paríshwanátha were of Chandrávatí marble, and the plastered walls, with the concave of the dome, were besmeared with daubed representations of Bráhman deities, and the fanciful offspring of the artist. A mean Masjíd, not twenty feet in dimension, was the fane of the few poor Muhammadans resident in the village and of the Suní sect; it was on an elevated site, and in the contiguity of a splendid *bhar*. A well, some ninety feet in depth, indicative of Jáina skill and labor in its architecture, and the principal resource of the villagers, was hard by; there were two other similar *báurís* certainly in the neighbourhood, but the stream was neither so limpid nor abundant. In a stagnant pool between this and the hillock, over which beetled almost the mosk, gambolled a number of cattle. The villagers of Míyágáum appeared a quiet industrious race: the *Thákur* or feudal baron has the most lofty and spacious tenement in the hamlet. He was returning homeward—as I wended back to my domicile—from a complimentary visit paid that day to a brother noble in an adjacent town; he was seated in a *damní* á la Anglais with some of his relatives, while nearly a troop of horsemen caracoled around the vehicle.

6th February.—Prosecuted my journey with the first hour of the new day, and adopting the precaution of having a fresh *bomíyá* at every village, arrived at Tankeríyá by daybreak—the stage was computed at ten miles. The bangalá here, though a more recent construction, appeared older than the one at Míyágáum. Not fifty yards from it was a group of Muhammadan grave-stones. The village seemed to abound with lofty trees of every variety almost indigenous to India, and of the most captivating characteristics to those enamoured of a sketch-look and crayons. The general features of the country passed, with such light as the dawn permitted, were the same as already noticed—extensive plains of a rich black loam, and the Cotton plant grown as far as vision could extend in its range around: and mixed in this, in every possible direction, might be observed men, women, and children, collecting pods. Whatever the general opinion entertained abroad, from personal observation and local knowledge I have invariably found agriculturists in Gujarát confine their operations to the cool periods of the day—wholly avoiding the scorching influence of the Sun, unless where sheds or temporary habitations have been made among the crowns of trees and other such lofty sites to keep away marauders of the brute species from committing depredations. Perhaps my own instance is a singular one in braving the noon rays of Sol in such a climate as that of Gujarát, but as my object was identified with individuality, instead of wholly trusting to those resident in the country—the spirit of curiosity rather than a want of grace to their experience—I felt myself determined upon gratifying the inclination which impelled me, and to ensure confidence in any opinions to be subsequently expressed on this subject.

A hurried morning meal and some small repose enabled my pushing my journey by eight o'clock, arriving at Baroch by two in the afternoon. From Barodá to Baroch the four different stages appear almost to be equidistant, excepting perhaps the one between Míyágáum and Tankeríyá. The entry into the suburbs of Baroch is rendered annoying from the sand, almost a foot deep; while the huge spiral volumes of dust, which at a distance

appeared like so many fires of hamlet incendiarism, occasioned by each roll of the axis, rendered one's situation disagreeable—distressing. The senses were obstructed in their functions by this sand-storm, and the hair soon became matted with the subtle and delicate powder which thus played around one. A quarter of an hour now brought me to the ruined citadel—the great gateway of which I entered on foot, strode the slight mound or eminence before it, and directed my steps to the Travellers' bangalá with its usual complement of two rooms, occupied by four individuals—utter strangers to each other! An intelligent Parsí, by name Berámshah, was so good, under the circumstances, as to place at my disposal during my stay, an empty dwelling entrusted to his care, and into which I marched my baggage and other apparatus, taking up my own lodgings also in its ample apartments.

7th February.—Picture an age of Samaritan charity and Pelagian philanthropy, when wealth and genius, patriotism and industry, seem to form the cheerfulness of a nation and the amiable government of wise, if they were even pagan, monarchs. At such a time we can well presume that patriarchal happiness which the erudite ROBERTSON fondly depicts under a Hindu monarchy—and that the literary artist had the celebrated Síd Ráj Jesíng sitting to his historical easel. The same master mind that controlled the Empire of Anhulwárá, also scattered the magnificent temples of Jáina worship from Sídhapur to Cambay, reared the still splendid city of Dhuboí, and erected the port of BAROCH. If, however, traditional lore is to be regarded, we learn of the existence of a Hindu devotee by name Baríga, or Baríga Akshatrí, or Baríga purá, whose sanctity originated the existence of the town of *Baríga*: and the phonetic, as well as etymological, affinity thence to the *Barygaza* of the ancients is perfect. The Muslím student however renders the name a corruption of *bar-unch*, or the lofty place; and a happier transition makes it the bhar-like, from a fanciful resemblance to the leaf, or the peculiar form adopted by the *bhar* in its root progress, always confining itself to an oval. Yet these are bare assumptions: would

that we were enabled to peruse those—unscrutable to European eyes—volumes in the Jáina libraries of Pattan. "In the books of the Hindus" quotes ABUL FAZEL, in his cosmogony of the Empire of his Mecenas—Akbar: would also that we could say as much; how soon, how truly can we urge it?

Broach, Baroach, Baradsch, or Broitschia—as various systems of orthography would have it—which summons at its very mention, the Periplus of Arrian, the Macedonian host, the suicidal Hindu who lit his own funeral pyre with a presentiment of his approaching death in the Grecian camp, and the laborious yet now almost worthless disquisitions of the Scottish historian! City of Cities—which saw the mariners of Nearchus's fleet; the sons of Rome 'when Rome was;' men of the ages of the Pharaohs; and the early Indian travellers from Arabia! Full of classic associations to the student, and of proud memories to the Merchant: over which has expired the strength of Jáina, and Muslím, and Bráhmanical power! *Now*, in ruins, in desolation: the mere entrepôt of a crude staple collected in its agricultural environs, where also a small and indifferent manufacture of its famed *báftas* is produced at the primitive loom, and which finds consumption in the neighbouring localities, or in its dyed form from Cambay to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs. With Dow's *Ferishta* before one, its past prosperity and present aspect—afford a painful anomaly: of sorrowful decay to primæval splendour. Yet here the Dutch had a factory from the onset, and the English had an Agent simply for the execution of such orders transmitted to him by the President at Surát. FRYER gives an interesting account of the time of his visit, though brief. After remarking that Baroach is the thorough-fare to Lahore, Delhí, Agra, and Ahmedábád, he proceeds: "Baroch was the metropolis when Cambaia was an Empire, which was be-"fore the Portugals were strong in these parts, who made way for the Mogal "to make an entire conquest thereof: but as to what concerns its peculiar "history, it was dismantled, and the walls thrown down for refusing passage "to the father of the present Auran Zeeb; which, as appears by the ruins,

" were very strong of old, being doubly walled and trenched, into which nine " gates still lead the way. * * Nor does this place now yield small " advantage to the Great Mogul, customs being paid here, and here being a " good trade ; though a stop be put thereto by Raja Tessinsin's being lately " dead, who set the present Emperor on his throne, together with Emir Senda, " and the Emperor's demanding the treasury and territories of the widow ; " and her sending this answer thereupon (the same almost in effect as " Spartans were wont to use, among whom it was a saying, *Our kingdoms* " *extend as far as we can cast our own darts ;*) for the returned money, I " have none, but swords, good store, which has brought all the infidels into " confederacy with her." The Portuguese committed the havoc alluded to, before the castle of Surát had been built ; but the revenues of Baroch only actually commenced to decline with the Maharáta predatory visits to Gujarát. The Zilla now comprises an area of 1319 miles ; with a population of 2,68,578 souls ; 1,42,932 of whom are women. The gross revenue for the current official year is estimated at Rs. 26,41,321, against which must be placed a set-off of Rs. 7,34,910 for expences of collection. The principal parganás are those of Jambusír, Ahmode, Wágra Oklesír, and Hánsot. The only handsome piece of architecture is what is denominated the Silver Mosk, and even here the exquisite ceiling fretted in lozenges, in the form of roses, and other floral designs, is its sole merit. FRYER names it as " an heathen temple now converted into a mosk." Without the city may still be seen the exuviæ of a once magnificent mausoleum variously reputed to be the burial-place of Muzaffír Shahái the Third, the last of the dynasty of the founder of the city of Ahmedábád, and of an Arab race of Princes here who drew the attention of Akbar to the reduction of the province. A few Mogli residences still attest the splendour maintained here during the Government of the Moguls. During the Maharata ascendancy in Gujarát, Baroch was equally the property of the Peshwá and the Gáikawád ; and clashing policies soon operated to wrest it from them for a more peaceful agency. GRANT DUFF remarks—" When Dummajee gave up half of

"Gujarát to Ballajee Bajee Ráu in 1751, he retained his rights in Baroach "undivided, and the Peshwá got Jumbooseer, and some other districts, as an "equivalent for his share: by the treaty of Barodá in 1775, Ragonath Ráu "obtained from Futeh Síng Gaekwar, the cession of his rights in Baroach for "the East India Company; and by the treaty of Poorundhur, although the "Poona ministry had no power to alienate Baroach from the Gaekwar, it was "wholly ceded to the British Government: it was in vain that Futeh Síng "demanded his rights in Baroach from the English who kept them, or from "the Peshwá who had given them away; and although when the war renew-"ed, General GODDARD put Futeh Síng in possession of several of the Pesh-"wá's districts, he was compelled to relinquish them by the treaty of Salbye: "Mahadajee Sindia, on the conclusion of that pacification, obtained Baroch "from the British Government; with Sindia's successor it remained until it "fell, by right of conquest, to the English in 1803; and the Gaekwar now "advanced a demand on the Peshwá for the amount of his share of its reve-"nue since the treaty of Poorundhur."

Our connexion with the City of Baroch arose through certain claims on the Nawáb due by right of sovereignty to the Government of Surát, where we had acquired the supremacy since 1759. The chief at the factory of Baroch was instructed to press these upon the attention of the Native Governor, but his conduct led to an inference that he would continue to shuffle his engagements unless forced to compliance. A small force was in consequence sent in May 1771; which failed, owing to the lateness of the season for military operations. The intention was to renew hostilities immediately after the monsoon; but the Nawáb was willing to enter upon terms of pacification. A treaty was entered upon at Bombay in November, but from its not being sufficiently satisfactory to the native chieftain, he treated the English chief at the seat of his Government with marked disrespect, and which led to his retirement to Surát. In the November following, and on the 18th of that month, the troops under General DAVID WEDDERBURNE, a brother of Lord LOUGHBOROUGH, took the city by storm,

but with the loss of their gallant General. He lies interred at the foot of the flagstaff, from whence waves the standard whose honor he so bravely maintained. By the treaty of Purandhar, concluded with the Maharátas on the 1st March 1776, the island of Salset, along with the territory of Baroch and other districts in Gujarát, were ceded to the Company : all these were lost by the capitulation of Wargaum in 1778. In 1782, the British relinquished their claims to the territories of Baroch, but retained the city. On the 29th August 1803, Baroch was again taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington, who had already distinguished himself at Karí and Barodá ; and from that period it has ever remained a British possession. Its financial arrangements are directed by a Collector, his assistants and their subordinate establishments. An Assistant Judge only resides at the station, but it is visited at intervals by the Judge and Session Judge of Surát. The central situation of Baroch between Surát and Barodá only render necessary the presence of a small detachment from one of the native regiments cantoned either at Barodá or Surát. The English cemetery is without the city, and to be gained only by walking through the subtle and heavy dust, more than knee-deep with each step at the door-way : there are but few tombs, and none of any date. Baroch is noted for a *pánjrapola*. In 1791, the district suffered from a severe famine.

Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs*, from Cruso's account, and Colonel Monier Williams, the Surveyor General, in his *Memoirs of the Zillá*, and the various and valuable and lengthy papers which have from time to time appeared in the reports of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce,—have ably elucidated and carefully shewn the actual statistics of the district for a long series of years ; and the declining tendency of the great staple once of the country cannot be questioned. That no other description of Cotton can be raised with equal facility, or so cheaply, as the peculiar material now grown, there cannot be a question. But that it is considerably hurt with the means now employed for cleaning it, and that the Cotton is also injured from the adulterating properties cast into each bale to make up weight,

cannot also be disputed. The liberal spirit of the Supreme Cabinet had, at the instance of the local Government, obtained from the United States of America a number of intelligent planters, not only experimentally to improve indigenous resources, but by their means to induce the natives to adopt more suitable appliances for cleaning the crude material. They came to this country, and the most favorable anticipations—perhaps a shade too bright and for a season of time too narrow—were augured by their presence ; the press of India unanimously extolled the liberality of its rulers, and chaunted the pœans of the exotic cultivators. A few years and this fled, and sundry circumstances of a disagreeable cast leaked out. The Americans were on a strange soil, and among strangers ; they had allowed their opinions to be influenced by ultra motives which they could not distinctly analyse, or discover the sub-plot which worked more personal purposes : wrought to ungovernable fury, they introduced their grievances to the public, and failing what they deemed redress for (chimerical) evils, abandoned their engagements and the country, for their native wilds. Dr. Burn, of the Bombay Medical Service, had introduced himself to the notice of Government through botanical pursuits in which he had engaged himself at Kaira, and his nomination to the appointment of Superintendent of the Cotton Experimental farms in Gujarát was obtained direct from the Leadenhall authorities. With his appointment in pocket, followed an expensive Hydraulic belt for employment in the country : but upon having been informed of the worthlessness of such machinery in the Baroch Zíllá, from previous and repeated trials, he very properly attempted its use in another and better form. A Joint Stock Association was established ; the machinery was converted by a skilful Engineer for a Gin-House ; and it was intended to supersede the Government construction, and to evince to 'the powers that be' of the natives of Baroch having acquired a taste for improvement to that degree as to obviate the necessity of Government interference in the Zíllá. The Joint Stock Association certainly worked, and at rates too expensive for the proprietors to continue their connexion with it; and so soon as it was as-

certained that Dr. BURN intended quitting the station, most of his colleagues anticipated his retirement by abandoning their interest and demanding a return of their monied investment. The scheme had proved a miserable failure.

The Government experimental manufactory is, and has been, conducted on premises situated a short distance from the city, and leased of Merwanjí Fraser at a hundred rupees per month. There are fine stores and a dwelling-house upon the grounds. In one of the store houses I noticed several Cotton-Gins of sixty and twenty-five saws respectively, the larger requiring the power of four country bullocks to work them; the smaller ones could be worked by the hand: the first description would daily clean nearly seven hundred lbs. of cotton, the hand-gin about three hundred lbs. At a little distance beyond was the workshop or engineer's forge—a very interesting and excellently conducted establishment. There were models of an American mill and the Atlas pressing-machine—which had been on a shelf for the last seven years: a smaller press was lying in the veranda of the courtyard of the mill. These would certainly prove more useful if properly exhibited in some public room at the presidency. The mill appears a temporary construction, though in existence for years; but this impression is founded rather from the materials employed in its formation than the want of durability in the materials,—which are merely wood and date-matting. The loft commands extensive space: and there are four of Whitney's implements of sixty saws each. The Government maintain twelve pairs of bullocks, four pairs working on the mill at a time. It is assumed by competent authority, that if the mill were constantly in action, the Government would obtain a profitable outturn of ten rupees a day: under the present system, it is only worked four months in the year. Just now Government is about purchasing cotton for this purpose, and some longer delay is expected from the *ryots* being firm with the rates they choose to demand. The Government Superintendent receives Rs. 700 per month,—a situation which has been abolished since I was last at Baroch: and the Engineer,

who was sent out by the Court of Directors on a salary of Rs. 250 per month, has been transferred to Kándes. Dr. BURN's mill cost about Rs. 3000 wholly: the machinery unfortunately was weak, and though intended for two gins of sixty saws each, it could only work one of the hand-implements. This, perhaps, was the great detriment or bar to the success of his speculation: yet the natives are so wedded to their ancient Charká,—and it must be added as yet by far the simplest, cheapest, and most effective, means of cleaning the crude staple,—that all exotic innovations, until practically proved to be more simple, cheap, and effectual, the natives will not be found to employ them.

Baroch is a busy mart, and there are numbers of traders and speculators who have settled here. I made it a point of visiting the bázaar, and seeing several of the more respectable community,—but they all complained of the want of business, and the existing state of commerce also led to a complaint of the dearth of bullion; indeed, it was remarked to me, there were few men who could command fifty thousand rupees individually of their community. It is true, there was still a large consumption for the coarse local manufactures of cloth, but even this prejudice was gradually beginning to wear away with the persevering and steady importations of European looms, and the cheap prices at which they could dispose of them: but what appeared to harass them more than anything, was the gradual, but final, extinction of the commercial fame once so ably sustained by their country. One circumstance operated painfully upon my mind in this excursion into the mart of the Zíllá—the frequent and sad objects which suffered from what is familiarly known in the country as the *Baroch boil*—a disagreeable ulcerous sore, which hangs upon the sufferer for years without any positive remedy for its cure. The sore commences like an ordinary boil in its first appearance; the length of time which ensues in its coming to a head engenders a belief that it is a blind-boil, and eventually when it does burst, a nauseous and copious and thick discharge leaves the entire sore exposed, but in a singularly honey-combed form; and it continues thus, as I have

already observed, for years. Europeans have attempted various means towards eradicating this evil, which is attributed to a peculiarity in the water; and some, after consulting the most skilful of the faculty in England, but with singular ill-success, have only met with like discouragement after travelling over Continental Europe. A native mentioned to me that brass filings, with an indigenous herb, used at a particular stage of the complaint, is esteemed the only restorative; but the secret of its application, said my informant in quiet and very solemn yet communicative spirit, is only known to a fakír who has made his fortune by his knowledge. I was glad, however, of having completed all my enquiries, and seeing all I could see of this ancient city so speedily. The Narbadá was crossed on the morning of the 8th. This broad and impetuous stream, which runs, and in devious form, over an extraordinary extent of country, would have proved an invaluable adjunct to commerce but for the falls and rapids it possesses in its progress hither. Lieutenant Evans, of the Bombay Army, at the suggestion of Mr Hamilton, the Political Resident at Indor, came down in a flat with a quantity of timber and Hushangábád Coal in very brief time comparatively to the usual land journey, but the disasters that he encountered only proved its perilous navigation. From Baroch to Surát it is very different, and nearly all the Cotton for the Western Presidency is shipped here in *batelas*, from a hundred to two hundred and fifty tons in burthen—the tide, however, and flood, are obliged to be availed of. Fryer, alluding to it in his time, says "it is a broad, swift, and deep river, but chocked up "with drifts of sand by reason of rain forced into the very channel, so that "good pilots are required to steer clear of them; by whose directions good "lusty vessels are brought up to the city-walls, where they are laden." The old Dutch writers communicate as much almost verbatim. During Colonel Woodington's attack of the city, the Company's Cutter *Fury*, carrying four ten-pounders, rode close to the city-wall. The gallivats of the Portuguese, in their piratical visits during the sixteenth century, always moved up as high.

I left Baroch—which by the way I have since visited twice—by noon of the 8th February, and gained Khím Cháukí by dusk, the distance from the southern bank of the Narbadá (according to native estimate) being twelve miles. Khím Cháukí is a large square-walled enclosure, with bastions at each angle ; at a corner of the eastern extremity is a raised roof, frequented by European travellers. A number of the local police was stationed here at the time by way of guarding this thoroughfare to Surát for travellers, who might be assaulted by Kolís and other nomadic tribes. The erection of this Cháukí is attributed to the British, but it looks very like a Moglí work. The entrance into it is protected by a heavy wooden door, and guards occupy the adjoining lodges : the door is opened at the dawn of the day, and closed by the hour of eight, after which hour travellers obtain admittance with considerable difficulty. Khím, however, is an excellent halfway halting-house to travellers between Surát and Baroch : the ground however to be gone over from Oklasír—the midway town between the Narbadá and Khím—is in the worst possible condition.

Started early the following morning upon my journey, and arrived at the creek of Víríau by eleven o'clock, where the water was sufficiently low at the time to permit of our crossing : from thence marched into the Travellers' bangalá by two o'clock of the same afternoon. A few hours afterwards I was on board the steamer *Sir Charles Forbes* on the voyage to Bombay, after an absence from it of better than three months.

A resumé of the foregoing journal only developes a close application to the purpose of the tourist—the topography and history of the Cities of Gujaráshtra, with occasional personal notices. The Botany, the Zoology, even the Ethnography, if more severely analysed, of these cities, would have commanded space, and perhaps distracted the attention of the general reader, in greater degree than the compass of the present extended volume would permit. There are a few circumstances, however, which deserve some notice in respect to the province generally.

Can this be a portion of that very monarchy of Arhía, the capital of which was frequented by Egyptian traders two hundred and fifty years before Christ? Europe has undergone vital charges since then, and in the presence of literary treasures bequeathed by diplomatists, or exhibited by the torch of genius, how much continues to distract and to amaze the historical student: how many new facts are opened by circumstance or accident: and after all, we still experience the truth, and the pungency, and the evidence, of our frailty in the painful axiom—"we see through a glass darkly." What has occurred in Hindusthán since then, has amply employed the leisure and assurance of archæologists; and with endless labyrinths of doubt, difficulty, and disorder, continue to draw dynastic lines and geographical limits—perhaps in one instance of a buffoon, in the other a hamlet. Where is the wooden city of Kanáuj, known to the Macedonian host? Where are the descendants of the Solankí and Cháura Monarchies of Anhulwárá? Where wander the exiled Princes of the loins of the Kings of Vehár and Suría, and many a land known now to European influence, but bereft of their ancient tillers—political and agricultural? Shattered is the vision, the strength, and even—in their degenerate children—the spirit of Muhammadanism? Annihilated is the arbitrary feudalism of the Maharáta? Lahor founded an empire, and a disciplined army, with the vital energy of one man, and his death created anarchy in the one, and gave wantonness to the other. Alas—how vain, how futile, and how thankless, the merits of being enshrined in the remembrance of another generation!

If the annual records of the different Collectorates on the financial branch of the British Indian Government, were given from time to time in the form of a Blue Book to the public, they would present an amount—a variety—of information, and an intimate relation with the ruled, their sections, and their territories, which would startle the reading world, and the political arenas of Europe. The erudition, the labor, and the care, evinced in these documents, would of themselves command no ordinary attractions to notice and to merit perusal. As it now is, the casual observer believes

the existence of callousness, apathy, indolence, and a manifold range of sliding offences, which make revenue appointments so many sinecures and their official duties apocryphal, the salaries extravagant, and the functionaries void of the required talent and alacrity. The calm and cautious tourist will discover more in tacit observation than a garrulous belief in his own sufficiency would ever lead him to confess; and each new acquaintance will lead him to a larger astonishment of the happy yet able system so profoundly applied to the soil, so extensively maintained, and so thoroughly understood in all its gradatory stages. The happy facility towards enquiry, the record of every complexion of information, their subsequent relative value ascertained, and the desired result exhibited with a patience, a zeal, and a determinedness, scarcely credible. Conceive an empire so extensive as Hindusthán ruled by foreign hands with local resources, so adroitly, so pacifically, and yet so vigorously ! How intricate might be the international arrangements ! How simple, how precise, how clearly defined, the Civil Administration ! Alike the monument of surprising benevolence and wisdom: it establishes its merit more upon consistency than humanity, and upon justice than consistency. It was the experience of years, the labour of genius, tried by the elements of discord and faction and malignity ; and rising superior to its frailties, strong in its predilections, and convinced of its policy—it emanated a Government alike startling, and equitable, and rigid, with the chaotic mass presented for analysis and arrangements ! It was the gift of an Indian Civilian to the Indian Government—and not to them only, but unborn ages, as to what calmness and firmness and talent can accomplish. At the Council Board of every Government of India, before the opening of its proceedings, thrice, and in solemn tone, ought the name of WARREN HASTINGS to be pronounced ; and though it be in mimicry, thrice ought that imperishable name with the records of Anglo-Indian History to be saluted by the rulers of the land. The annals of our father-land abound in the exploits of many a Hastings, but ours is that illustrious association con-

nected with the land of our adoption, and with a heart as strong as any of the like brave name.

It is said to have been remarked by more than one of the distinguished members of the always distinguished Civil Service of India, that for an early and accomplished initiation in the Native character, Gujaráshtra forms the best field for the embryo politician of the Western Presidency. Here at least he will possess the opportunity to discover that pliancy of disposition which lends itself in the most plausible form to every foible and every trait of its superior—from the studious severity of the *bramácherí* to the wanton callousness of the braggadocia. Plots, intrigues, embezzlement, every political and social artifice—are conducted and maintained with an adroitness, a calmness, and a pertinacity of action, equally admirable and horrifying. Nature not ungenerously prevents the trace of a blush with the constantly used and seldom detected lie; and the eye and the features are schooled under such circumstances so as to exhibit only that listlessness which cunning deems desirable to her aim. But in amorous dalliance, in pitiful supplication, that eye and those features variously reflect all the expressions of wanton and prostrate passion: at once the charm and mockery of humanity! With a heart—if ever in possession of such a moral distinction—insensible to every virtue, and swayed alone by superstitious awe, it lays claim to the most lofty and happy aspirations, and owns pretensions which paralyse the profession of the Christian. Without a feeling, but of selfishness; without an action, not unpremeditated; without a thought which is not either mercenary or treacherous—make the meek and patient Gujar as he is celebrated in the idyllics of Europe. The farinaceous cast of his diet, and a happy employment of water as his only beverage, render a disposition naturally acute to receive, to remember, and analyse with greater liveliness those objects and events which suit the inclination, or any remote purpose to which they may have a bearing. Jealous, beyond belief, of the aggrandizement or success of his fellow; malignant, in a degree which nourishes the baleful thought for years; and vindictive, with the final accomplishment of his long-

cherished scheme, if ever the time or opportunity present for its successful employment. In official routine, in commerce, and in litigation—he is a proficient, if he possess adequate rivalry beyond his kind. An honest diplomacy is misunderstood: strategy is made the rule and the practice; and it is communicated with an electric impulse through the chain of associates and dependents, so that its course is soon lost, and success in such investigation almost futile. Abstemiousness, according to European interpretation, is no virtue: and poverty is shrouded with the garb of sanctity. Life is an effort towards success—with the active; to the indolently disposed, ample delight is experienced in its mere daily wants being supplied by manual or mental exertion. Here the last stroke to this portraiture is realised, and the next step conveys across the threshold of ordinary relations to other and more sacred obligations.

The ballads or poetical chronicles of a people evince at least a tenacious remembrance of past events, whether distressing or honorable. They recall associations without personal detriment while recounting the achievements of other days; and when the merry laugh or ribald thought can be more freely expressed than during the period of those exploits thus commemorated. A lively taste or a lively climate, or a language with almost musical cadence in its terminatives, might separately or in the aggregate occasion this; but whatever the cause, this legendary mode of receiving and conveying historical relation is peculiar to Gujarát from the Dheds of Surát to the Rájputs north of the Vanás river. Associating themselves in bands, or when thrown together by accident, in those sweet moonlights of the country, the merriest youth only throws the first stanza of a song suitable to the time and the caste, when the burthen is rapidly taken up, and then 'with quip, and crank, and jollity'—with boisterous jocularity, the evening is prolonged and pleasingly spent by narrative of this complexion.

The Gujaráti is the proper dialect of the province, and proverbially as truly it is the great commercial language of Western India. Wherever Musalmán are to be found, Hindusthání or Urdu is also known; but Gujaráti

forms the chief speech: even to Marwar and the Konkan does this extend. The Pársís of Bombay, with numerous amplifications and corrections, along with the introduction of English idioms, have made it their vernacular and domestic tongue. As a dialect, it has only its parallel with our own unfortunate language—abounding in borrowed words, and with no grammatical consistency to guide the student in its cultivation. Nouns neuter, singularly, have feminine terminations, and the articles are obliged to correspond. In different districts there are peculiar patois almost as incoherent to each other as in the departments of France, the counties of England, or the provinces of China; but the written character is universally the same, read and understood alike. The Vánías denude their correspondence of the vowel or diacritical points; and while the practice is common to them, it is scarcely understood by others. The late Mr. James Forbes, of the Bombay Civil Service, author of the *Oriental Memoirs*, and the late Captain Ramsey, of the Military Service, have both attempted, and very laudably, with simple and uniform means, so far as it lay in their power, to assist in any desire to acquire a knowledge of Gujarátí. Recently, Mr. Clarkson, of the *London Missionary Society*, has followed their track; but the ordinary student will find it more difficult to understand his analyses than gain any practical advantage by his work. Gujarátí, however, should be understood by most Europeans, particularly by those engaged in commerce, who will find it of considerable service in eliciting information of native dealers, as an ignorance of it bars that reciprocity of communication which ought to exist.

L'Envoi.

Rest, wanderer, rest: gently recedes the youngest city of Gujaráshtra, and the dark waters of the Cambayan Gulf will soon be traversed, and the blue, blue liquid of the Indian Ocean arrest thy sight. Rest from thought and fatigue. Rest, rest.

Scarcely do the eyelids droop, and the phantasmagoria of the past revels to the mental illusion! Where are the cities of the Jáinas—and where those unvisited ruins of Muslím pride, Mehmudábád, Dhuboí, Dolka, other and equally glorious spectacles of human device?

Calm, wanderer, calm. They have passed those mighty dynasties: and have left in these monuments, lessons of the instability of human greatness and the mutability of human power—to remind that the grandeur thus purchased was for the selfishness of a few, and at the cost of the tears of thousands and the spoliation of provinces; that wealth was formed for no such mimicry, and mankind is dependent upon general principles for peace and prosperity not upon isolated dominion and consolidated capriciousness.

Start to the vision the Kaleidescopic Ethnography of the province—there stand the pyrolatrous yet exiled Pársí; the nomadic and cruel Kulí; the treacherous still uncourteous Maharáta; the vain yet warlike Mogli; the peaceful speculative Jáina; the plodding crafty Mesrí; and with Bhomíyá, Dhed, Branjhárí, Rajput, the Kátí—'the child of the sun' of the adjoining Peninsula, and an endless train of agricultural, commercial, and predatory clans!

Peace, wanderer, peace. Britain has not cast the shadows of her Government over the soil that the blessings of education will continue long unknown or ungladly grasped—that 'the Son of Righteousness' will not soon arise, and with healing on His wings arouse the multitude to a sense of the gross darkness in which they now lie, and scatter calm and quiet and more legitimate pursuits becoming the nature and masjesty of man in his moral and social position with the progress and more general development of Evangelization. May Almighty God, in His great mercy, soon accomplish His purpose in these regions!

Finis.

APPENDIX.

A.

[*From Orme's Historical Fragments.*]

CAPTAIN BEST'S TREATY. "The first article is thus expressed: 'Imprimis, that all 'which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquitted, and cleared to us; that they 'shall never make seizure, stoppage, nor stay of our goods, wares, and merchandizes, to satisfye 'for the same.' By the 2d, a confirmation of all the articles now agreed to was to be obtained under the seal of the great MOGUL within forty days. By the 3rd, an embassador *for* the King of England to reside at the Mogul's Court. The 4th, that on the arrival of the Company's ships at Swally, proclamation be made in Surat, three several days successively, that the people of the country may freely come and trade with the English at the water side. 5th, all English commodities to pay a duty of three and a half *per cent.* 6th, but petty wares, above ten dollars, to be free of custom. The 7th, settles the rate and mode of carriage between Swally and the city. The 8th, releases the effects of English subjects dying in the Mogul's dominions from forfeiture or claim. And by the 9th it is provided, that if all the English left on shore should die in the interval between the departure and arrival of the Company's ships, the government of Surat should see that their effects were faithfully collected and preserved, and deliver them to the first Captains which should arrive. 10th, all men and goods which may be taken by the Portuguese, to be recovered by the government, and restored without charge. The 11th, exempts the trade and *Factory* from responsibility for the robberies of English pirates. The 12th, no provisions, except exceeding one thousand dollars, to pay customs. And by the 13th, that in all questions of wrongs and injuries done to the English nation, justice be rendered without delay, or exorbitant charge."

B.

[*From the Asiatic Annual Register.*]

BOMBAY CASTLE, *April 7th*, 1810.

The following letters were this day published, to contradict a report which had gained credence, of a general commotion having taken place in a large portion of the territories subordinate to this presidency.

SECRET DEPARTMENT.

The Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN, *Esq.*,
President and Governor-in-Council,
BOMBAY.

HONOURABLE SIR,—I received the Chief Secretary's letter of the 23rd instant on the 28th following, enclosing one under a flying sail for the Commander-in-Chief.

This I duly forwarded; but that officer being on the eve of departure, and perfectly satisfied with all my proceedings respecting Mandvie, left me to make a statement of them, which I have now the honour of doing.

The first account I received of a revolution having taken place at Mandvie, in favour of a Mussulman, was on the 10th instant. The city soon rung with the same. In the evening Shevanund, or brother of the Vizier of Mandvie, fled into town, with the news of Sookanund, the Vizier, having been killed by the Borahs, at the instigation of a wild Fakir, named Ubdul Rehman, and the Rajah put to flight, he believed, to another small position of his, near Bolsaur, named Pardie.

In three days afterwards, I received a letter (No. 1) from the Faquir, styling himself Meen Sahib, desiring me to pay the bearer, by name Soolimaun, three hundred rupees, or quit Surat. Soolimaun had remained at Boodhan, in the Mandvie district, and sent the letter by a cooly, whom for the present I ordered into confinement. A great number of people had quitted the City to join this fanatic, and the Mahometans generally began to assume a very threatening air.

On the 15th, the day preceding the Ede, a Faquir from Boodhan was taken up, and three accomplices of the city. The Faquir, who called himself Syud Peer Shah, acknowledged his coming into the city from Boodhan, with a message (No. 2) from Meen Ubdul Rehman Sahib (the fanatic) to Syud Hada, (of the Adawlut) desiring him to represent to me, that in the New Testament the name of Ahmud that was written was his, and therefore to acknowledge him or depart.

The next day, which was the Ede, I attended the ceremony. It was marked by the absence of the general number of Mahometans parading on the occasion, and an evident fear in the Hindoos, who had been very generally threatened by the circumcised tribe.

Appearances gathered weight; numbers had left this city and Ranier to repair to Boodhan; those in the town began to assail the Hindoos with the cry of Deen, and there was every cause to suppose, from the expressions of Ubdul Rehman, that he was intent upon bringing about a revolution in the city.

By the 17th, two Borahs of Boodhan were sent to me by the Kazy, with a letter (No. 3) they had brought to him from the fanatic, and one to me, desiring me to accept the religion of Mahomet, retire, or fight.

The best part of this and the following day was taken up in collecting information, which all bespoke the determined resolution of the fanatic, and the hearty concurrence of his brother Mahometans to try a revolution here, when I resolved to take the sudden step of seizing him.

About two o'clock I imparted this (No. 4) to Colonel Keith, who approved the measure, and as the securing this insurgent Faquir, who, from the best intelligence, had not left Boodhan, during the change of Government, was the primary object, two troops of cavalry were ordered to proceed by night, in order to invest the place, and get hold of him if they could, or bar his departure, till the arrival of four companies of infantry. Captain Cunningham, who commanded the infantry, Dunjeeshah Behramund Khan, a vakeel of the Rajah of Mandvie, and four scouts, attended them.

The dragoons arrived about daylight at Boodhan. *Dhunjeeshah was among the first over the river, and endeavoured to prevail on the Faquir to surrender himself, but was killed in the attempt, with the Rajah's vakeel, and some others near him.*

A furious engagement ensued betwixt the people and troops, in which the former had recourse to every species of sorcery and madness, and left nearly two hundred dead on the field. The cavalry lost a corporal and two privates, and several horses, and saw the town in flames when they came away. Shortly after their departure, the infantry, under Captain Cunningham, renewed the attack, to the destruction of many more, and amongst them the fanatic himself, Ubdul Rehman, who had been wounded by the dragoons, and taken refuge, with several more, in a blacksmith's hut. The Rajah had been two or three days confined by him, but had made his escape the morning of the attack, it was not known whither. The 56th Regiment was ordered on to Mandvie, and the religious commotion was, by the death of Ubdul Rehman, totally allayed.

On the 22nd, we received accounts of the fall of Mandvie, and that the Rajah was in the camp. General Abercrombie arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon of the day; the reports before mentioned were soon confirmed, with accounts of the Arabs having fired the town, and gone off with much treasure. The 56th Regiment was ordered in with the two eighteens, and the Rajah invited to accompany them.

On the 27th, the Rajah himself arrived, and paid me a visit on the 28th. He is about five and thirty, of large bulk, with much good nature, and few words.

I have the honor to be, with respect,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

SURAT, 31*st January*, 1810. N. CROW, *Chief.*

No. 1.

To Mr. Crow Sahib, with Meen Sahib's compliments from Boodhan. My man is come to you; pay him three hundred rupees, (300), and if you will not do it, you may get into another place. The man is about to proceed to Baroda, therefore deliver him the aforesaid sum, and return him.—Dated, Poush Sud, 6th, or the 4th, corresponding with the 11th January, 1810.

The person's name is Sooliman, who comes to you: pay him the said sum, and dispatch him.

True Translate.

(Signed) N. Crow, *Chief.*

No. 2.

Declaration of Syud Peer Aly, Syul Share Aly, an inhabitant of Punjaub, aged about 40 *years.*

About four days ago I went to visit Meen Ubdul Rehman Sahib, at Boodhan, and staid there two nights; yesterday morning I took his leave for Surat, with an intention to perform the pilgrimage of Mecca, at which time he told me to carry a message to Syud Hada Sahib, for the ear of Mr. Crow Sahib, that in his Christian Book Engeel, or Testament, the name of Ahmud is written, which is himself, (Ubdul Rehman,) therefore, that he must conform to his orders, otherwise get away; which mission I accordingly performed yesterday evening, to Syud Hada Sahib. Dated 15th January, 1810.

Syud Peer Shah.

True Translate.

(Signed) N. Crow, *Chief.*

No. 3.

To all counsellors, and the Hakim of Surat; be it known that the Emaumul Deen, of the end of the world, or Emaum Mehdee, has now published himself, and the name of this Durveish is Ahmud; and that in the Hindevie, they call him Rajah Nukluk. Be it further known to you that if the Esslaum (the Mahometan faith) is accepted, it is better, otherwise empty the town, or, on the contrary, you may prepare for battle. This fakir is now come down from the fourth Sky, with four bodies; combining Adam, (on whom be peace,) Essah the son of Marium, (Jesus the son of Mary,) and Ahmud (on whom be peace,) and they have all four come upon one place; they have no guns nor muskets with them, but a stick and a handkerchief are with me,—be yourself prepared. Dated 11th Zilhij, corresponding with the 17th January, 1810.

No. 4.

Colonel Alexander Keith,

Commanding the Southern Division of Guzerat.

Sir,

1.—I find myself urged by the conduct of a set of Mussulman fanatics, who have killed the Vizier, and taken upon themselves the administration of Mandvie, to make this representation against them.

2.—The Rajah of Mandvie is a prisoner in their hands, and also the eldest son of his late Vizier, whose name was Sookanund. The deceased's brother, by name Shevanund, and his second son Vidianund, have both fled here.

3.—These fugitives have claimed the protection of the Company, and from all circumstances I think it should be granted without delay.

4.—The fanatic, who is the head of the rebellion, maintains his seat in a Mosque, at Boodhan, about ten coss, on the opposite side of the river. He is called Ubdul Rehman. From the dangerous tendency of Mahometan fanaticism in this country, and the correspondence which he has already extended to me, and to others, I think no time should be lost in reducing him.

5.—He has about seventy-five Arabs with him, and about two hundred more are at Mandvie, which is beyond Boodhan, nearly the same distance.

6.—It is advisable that a party of horse should be dispatched without delay, to seize the faquir, and another party of infantry with guns, to take possession of Mandvie.

7.—The Rajah should be sent in as soon as Mandvie may be taken, and the Commandant of the Detachment, assisted by Dhunjeeshah Behramund Khan, remain in charge till further orders.

8.—This is my opinion of the present state of circumstances, and I beg leave respectfully to submit it to you.

I have the honor to be,
Your obedient humble servant,
(Signed) N. CROW, *Chief.*

SURAT, 18*th February*, 1810.

C.

[*From Parliamentary Papers.*]

Extract of a letter from the CHIEF-IN-COUNCIL, *dated* SURAT, 24*th March* 1760, *to the President and Council of Bombay.*

Mahomed Haddee Cawn and Naike Saut Khan, who were employed at the Mogul, Court, in procuring the necessary Phirmaunds and Papers in regard to the Castle and Tanka, returned some time since from Dilly, and having lately sent the Chief two vestments of honor, designed by the late Mogul for the Hon'ble Charles Crommelion, Esquire, and John Spencer, Esquire, as a mark of his most gracious favor and distinction, they are entrusted to the care of Mr. Holford. There is likewise a horse and vestment for the Hon'ble Company, and vestment for the Chief. These we are advised must be received in the most public manner upon Castle Green, which if your honor &c. approve, will be done accordingly under the discharge of a Royal salute.

2.—*The* PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF BOMBAY, *to the Chief-in-Council at Surat, dated,* BOMBAY CASTLE, *2nd April,* 1760.

And we concur in your receiving the horse and vestment sent our Hon'ble Masters by the late Mogul, and the vestment for the Chief, in the manner you proposed.

3.—*From the* CHIEF-IN-COUNCIL *to the Hon'ble the President and Council of Bombay. Dated* SURAT, 3*rd May,* 1760.

Yesterday being esteemed fortunate, the Horse and Surpaw for the Hon'ble Company, and the Surpaw for the Chief, presented by his late Majesty, was received upon Castle Green, in the most public and respectful manner. The Nawab's eldest son, Faruskhan, the Codjee, and all the Principal officers and merchants, attending. The Surpaw for the Hon'ble Company we have delivered to Captain Lindesay, but the Horse is kept here as a public mark of his Majesty's favor: on this occason we judged it proper to present Haddy Cawn and Naike Saut Khan, who brought the present, a Jaggunnat and Surpaw each, amounting in the whole to about 600 Rupees, which we hope your honor &c. will approve.

4.—*From the* PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF BOMBAY, *to the Chief-in-Council at Surat. Dated* BOMBAY CASTLE, *the* 19*th May,* 1760.

We approve of your having presented Mahomed Haddy Khan, and Naike Saut Khan, a Jaggunnat with a Surpaw, each, on account of your receiving the presents made our Hon'ble Masters and the Chief by the late Mogul, but observe the present you gave the Maharatta Officers, on accommodating affairs in Town, was high, which renders it necessary for us to recommend to you to forbear repeating such presents as much as lays in your power, especially as we cannot imagine there is near so much occasion for them now, as when we first acquired possession of the Castle and Tanka.

IX

D

THE *Tarjumet ul Zaherah Li Firkati Al Buharat Al Baherah*, OR THE 'TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE WELL-KNOWN BOHORA TRIBE.'

(Translated from the original Arabic by MAHOMED YOONOOS HAFFIZ, *and revised by* JAMES FLYNN, ESQ., *of H. M. Supreme Court of Judicature.)*

AFTER praise to God, and blessings for the Prophet and his descendants, may it be known that, the following is a summary account of the origin of the Bohorá tribe in India, setting forth the circumstances of its rise, and the history of the person by whose means they [the Bohorás] were converted to the Muhammadan faith.

This Bohorá tribe, which is mindful of the divine service, and religious rites and ceremonies, and constantly refrains from all that is prohibited by God or his Prophet, is presided over by a Mullah, or leader, who directs its attention to the divine commandments, in regard to which his behests are followed. He has therefore full power over the tribe in religious matters, as well as in the government of its secular affairs ; and the members of the tribe consider themselves bound to obey all his mandates.

When the Mullah is about to die, he appoints one of his sons or relations, as his successor in the office of Mullah. Should there be no one among his sons or relations fit for the dignity, he selects from the tribe any stranger whom he may consider capable of holding the Mullahship ; and no sooner is he solemnly installed, then the whole tribe thinks it its duty to obey his commands, without making any objection whatever.

In the olden time these [Bohorá] people, living in Gujarát, followed another religion, until a pious and a miracle-working man, named Mullah Abdullah, a native of the country of Yemen (Arabia Felix,) and highly accomplished in learning, and of pure morals, happened to travel through the country. Having sojourned near a place called Cambay, he saw by chance, a man named Káká Kellá, and his wife named Kákí Kellí, working in one of their fields.

Káká Kellá, casting his eyes towards the pious man, inquired of him his calling, and the place of his birth. To this the pious man replied that he was a native of Arabia, and that he wanted some water to drink ; and he requested Káká Kellá to provide him with a little of the element, if he could afford it. The Gujarátí man said there was a well in the vicinity, but that it was entirely dried up, and that therefore he could not get any water.

The Arab asked him to show him the well. He did so ; and the Arab then inquired of the man if, upon the well being immediately filled with water, he would quit his own religion, and become a convert to the Muhammadan's faith. The man replied in the affirmative.

The Arab, taking an arrow, threw it into the well. It struck against a rock, which it split, and instantly there gushed forth a stream of water.

The Gujarátí man, having beheld this miraculous deed, voluntarily became a convert to the Muhammadan faith, and followed the advice of the pious man. The Gujarátí man's wife also followed his example on the spot; and both of them treated the pious man very hospitably and kindly, in return for the good service which he did them.

After this, the Arab Abdullah went to Pattan, where he performed several astonishing miracles, so that whoever witnessed them acknowledged that he was a very religious and saintly man.

The chief priest of a temple at that place hearing of these matters, hastened to visit the pious man, who, on his coming into his presence, propounded to him some questions on topics relating to the high priest's own religion; but he was unable to answer even one of them. The pious man then gave the high priest a full explanation thereof, to the entire satisfaction of the latter, who hereupon lost no time in becoming a convert to the Muhammadan faith; and declaring the superiority of the religious Arab above all the Hindu priesthood.

The pious Arab then returned to Cambay, where there was, in one of the Hindu temples, a figure of an elephant, made of iron, and suspended in the air, without anything to support it either above or below. The Arab prayed to God that it might fall to the earth, and it immediately fell. This incident was the occasion of great astonishment to the Hindus; and a great number of those who saw what occurred renounced their idolatry, and commenced worshipping the Lord of Unity.

In the province of Pattan there was a Hindu king, who was named Sudra Jysíng. He having heard of this miraculous deed, was astounded, and inquired for the person who had done all this that happened to the large iron elephant, which by the power of God had remained for so many years suspended in the air. The people who were present there on the occasion (of the miracle,) replied that the man was an Arab traveller, who had come thither from the country of Yemen; that he was inviting people to embrace the Muslim faith; that he preached against the worship of Idols in opposition (as he said) to that of the Lord of Unity; and that he recommended people not to believe in them, but to break them in pieces, and discard them.

On hearing these things, the king was highly incensed; and he sent an army against the Arab, and commanded that he should be taken prisoner, and brought before him. When the troops reached the place where the Arab was, they saw him encompassed by a wide ditch, filled with fire which was blazing up; and they found it quite impracticable to get across the ditch, although they endeavoured by every means in their power to do so. A length a report of these things was made to the king, who lost no time in going to the spot, and entreating the Arab to allow him a passage for himself (through the fire,) adding that he wanted to speak a few words to him, and that if he (the Arab) should satisfy him that the religion which he invited him and his subjects to embrace was the true one, he himself, as well as the whole community, would adhere to what he, the Arab, might devise them to do.

The Arab commanded the fire to be extinguished, and it accordingly disappeared so completely that one might suppose there had not been any conflagration at all there. The king then approached the Arab, and standing before him, he addressed him in the following words:—

"Oh thou being of superlative accomplishments, the religion which we follow is indeed "the most ancient one of all, while yours which you invite us to embrace is a newly invented

" thing, which we never heard of before; and therefore be pleased to set before us any testi-
" mony that you may have, to convince us that your religion is the right and true one, and that
" which we follow is wrong and absurd."

The Arab replied,—" Verily, O king, thou dost constantly worship this great Idol of
" thine; and thou hast a high veneration for it; yet it neither speaketh nor heareth thy entrea-
" ties; nor can it assist thee in removing any affliction that may befall thee, or comply with
" any prayer which thou at any time makest to it. As for me, I adore the most glorious God,
" from whom I am always hopeful of receiving favours, and none other than Him do I fear. God
" is the everlasting Being who listens to me whenever I pray to Him, and always gives heed to
" the complaints that are addressed to Him. It is He who has given me power to do certain mi-
" raculous deeds; so that if thou O king, wish, I will desire the idol to speak; and it will speak
" in a language which may easily be understood by thee, and all thy people; and the idol shall
" declare that thou, O king, art wrong in following the Hindu religion, and that my religion is
" the best. Therefore," continued the Arab to the king, " I will make the idol speak, if thou, O
" king, will promise me to become a convert to the Muhammadan religion." The king agreed to this proposal, and the Arab, having desired the idol to speak, it declared that the Arab was in the right way, and that the king's way was wrong and absurd. " It is nothing," said the idol, " but
" paganism and infidelity." On hearing what the idol said, the king and all the people of his persuasion were struck with astonishment; and they immediately became converts to Islamism. They broke and threw away the religious threads [*Zunnars*] which they wore; and it is said that these weighed altogether two hundred and sixty pounds [so numerous were the converts.]

From that day forward, the Muhammadan religion was generally adopted in Pattan, Cambay, and at all the other cities in Gujarát.

The king Sudra Jysíng, who was also called Jhár Mall, became eventually a good Muhammadan; and from him has lineally descended our highly esteemed Mullah Siefudín, and all his venerable forefathers; and therefore the king Sudra Jysíng, *alias* Jhár Mall, was the founder of the Mullah's family, which has always been held in high veneration by the Bohorás. Siefudín at the time of his death appointed his son Mullah Yákub as his successor; and he behaved like his father, in properly discharging his duties to God, as well as to men, among whom he was highly esteemed in every respect. Mullah Yákub, before his death, appointed his adopted son Mullah Isák, as his successor; and he also followed the same course as that of his predecessor, in discharging the duties of the office. From him it was successively inherited by his descendants and relations, until it fell to him who is now our leader, and to whom we refer the settlement of all our religious and secular affairs [*viz.*] our Lord and guide in the right way, Mullah Tieb Zíenudín,—may God prolong his life!

The establishment of the Muhammadan religion in the province of Gujarát, through the means of the above named Mullah Abdullah, the possessor of many good attributes, and the worker of numerous miracles, was effected in the year four hundred and sixty of the Era of the Hejírá. The Mullah died at Cambay, at which place is his tomb, to which our people resort as to a sacred place of pilgrimage. He had come to Gujarát at the desire of his spiritual preceptor, from whom he had acquired the whole of his knowledge of theology.

His spiritual preceptor was one of the most learned persons at the time, in the country

of Yemen. His name was Malík bín Malík Hamádí ; and he was a scholar of the very accomplished and learned Híbetullah bín Musah, a native of Shíráz, by whom all the sciences had been acquired from his father Musah, who received them from his own father, and he from his own father ; and so on upwards, until the line of studentship is traceable to one of the companions of the Prophet, that is to say to Sulíman Fársí, or *Suliman the Persian,* in respect to whom the Prophet spake as follows :—

" Sulíman is one of us, the family of the house (of the Prophet.)" And Sulíman was the Imám or leader of the Muhammadans after the Great Imám. He was highly esteemed by the Kálifs, who bestowed on him an annual pension of five hundred thousand Dirhems ; but he used to give those away in alms, and live by his own labour ; and he never received a present from any person. He had no house, but sat and took his meals on the shady side of a wall, or under a tree. He wore no clothes, but used an *Abba* [a kind of coarse blanket,] on a part of which he used to sleep at night, while he covered his body with the rest. He died at Medayen* during the reign of Usman the third Kálif, in the year thirty-five of the Era of the Hejirá (or the flight.) There are different traditions regarding his age :—

Abbas Bin Zied says that his age was three hundred and fifty years, but no historian has ever hesitated to say that his age was at least two hundred and fifty years ; and it is alleged in some traditions that he saw the immediate successor of Jesus Christ (peace be upon him !) and that he studied both the sacred books (the Gospel and the Kurán.)

The word Bohorá signifies a merchant, as a man who buys and sells things is called by the Gujarát people a Bohorá ; and there is also another opinion respecting the meaning of the word, but the one given here is that which is generally received, and is one that is highly approved of.

* In the geography of Ibon Haukul, an Arabian traveller of the tenth century, Medayen is described as a little town at the distance of one *mirhelch*, or stage, from Bagdad. He says that in former times it was a very considerable city, and a favorite dwelling-place of kings ; and that the *Aiwan Kusra*, or palace, built by the celebrated Náusherwán, is situated there.—*Trans.*

E

SHIKSHA PATRI.

'AN EPISTLE CONTAINING INSTRUCTIONS.'

(Translated from the Sanskrit by SHET BHOGILAL PRANJIVANDAS, *of the Bombay Education Society's Ahmedábád Institution.)*

1.—I contemplate in the heart Krishná the enjoyer of *Vrindávan* (a village on the Jamná near Mathurá) ; him on whose left side is seated *Rádhá* (the favourite mistress of Krishná), and whose bosom is occupied by *Shrí* (the goddess of wealth and prosperity.)

2.—I, *Sahajánand Swámí* (name of the Reformer), write this Shíkshá Patrí from *Vritt álaya* (a town in Gujarát) to all my followers in the different countries.

3.—*Ayodhyáprasád* and *Raghuvír*, who are the sons of my two brothers, namely : *Rámpratáp* and *Ichárám*, whose father was *Hariprasad* incarnate of Dharma.

4.—Those *Naishthik Brahmacharis* (Brahmins who continue with their spiritual preceptor), the chief among whom is Mukundánand (householders), and those *Grahasths*, such as Mayáram Bhatta and others that are my followers.

5.—And those wives and widows who have become my disciples, and all those that are *Sádhus*, such as *Muktánand* and others.

6.—Let all these (persons) accept my benedictions as implied in Shrimannáráyan, which are a guardian of their faith and which are sanctioned by the Shastras.

7.—Let all bear in mind the contents of this *Shikshá Patrí* with a fixed attention, as they are important and productive of good to all creatures.

8.—Those persons who observe the good practices enjoined by the true Shastras, are always the most happy, both in this world and that which is to come.

9.—Those evil-minded persons who wantonly transgress them (the good practices), certainly suffer great distress in this world as well as in the other.

10.—Therefore let all of you, my disciples, always behave, with care and affection, in accordance with this (Shiksha Patri.)

11.—Let no followers of mine ever knowingly kill any animal whatever : not even the louse, bug, or such other insects.

12.—Let them never kill any animal, such as a goat and others, for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the gods and *Pitris* (the manes of the deceased and deified progenitors of mankind) ; for it is declared, that the greatest religious merit consists in abstaining from killing.

13.—Let no human being be killed at any place with a view to obtain a woman, wealth, or an empire.

14.—Suicide should never be committed through rage or at a *Tirth* (holy place), nor should it be had recourse to by means of poison or hanging on account of an improper act.

15.—Flesh should never be eaten, nor even that remaining of a sacrifice ; no liquor, either spirituous or vinous, should ever be drunk, nor even that which has been presented to the gods.

16.—If by you or another an improper act has been committed, no member either of your or his body should be, on that account, cut off with a weapon through rage.

17.—Thieving should never be practiced, even if it were for the sake of contributing to charitable purposes; things such as fuel and flowers that have an owner, should not be taken without his permission.

18.—Let no male or female followers of mine, ever commit adultery; let them shun gaming and such other vices, and from using intoxicating drugs such as hemp and such others.

19.—Nowhere but in *Jaggannáth Puri* (A town in Orissa on the Coromandel coast,) should one use the water of, or the food dressed by, him who is inferior in caste, let that food even be the *Prasádi* (food &c. presented to an idol) of even Krishná.

20.—No false accusation should be laid against any body for the sake of furthering one's own interests; indecent or improper words should never be uttered.

21.—Never use nor hear used profane language against the gods, Tírths, Brámins, chaste women, Sádhus and *Vedas* (the generic term for the sacred writings of the Hindus, supposed to have been revealed by Brahm.)

22.—Do not eat of an offering made to the goddess who is wont to receive offerings of flesh and liquor, and before whom animals such as a goat &c. are sacrificed.

23.—If you happen on the road to meet with temples of Shíva and other gods, first bow yourself and then pay a respectful obeisance to them.

24.—Let none give up the performance of the duties that are imposed upon the class and religious order to which he belongs; neither should he adopt the duties that are enjoined to others, nor accept a religion that is spurious.

25.—No recital of exploits achieved by the Deity should be heard from him by hearing whom one falls from the worship of Krishná or from his own religion.

26.—Never tell such truth as is productive of mischief to one's self or others; avoid the company of ungrateful men; do not accept bribes from any person whatever.

27.—Do not associate with thieves, those that are either wicked or addicted to vicious habits, heretics and those who are enjoyed in love-affairs, and whose trade consists in cheating the people.

28.—Do not keep connection with those that, longing to obtain a woman, wealth, or dainties, practise sinful acts, under the cloak of worship and religious knowledge.

29.—Never believe the Shástras in which Krishná and his incarnates are artfully confuted.

30.—No water or milk that is not sifted should be drunk; nor should the water containing minute insects be used for purposes such as bathing, &c.

31.—Never take the medicine which is mixed up with liquor or flesh, or that which is prescribed by an unknown physician.

32.—Do not evacuate either stool or urine, nor blow the nose, in places prohibited by the Shástras or public.

33.—Do not enter an house by an irregular passage, nor go out of it by the same; do not take up your lodging at a place having an owner, without his permission.

34.—Males should not hear discourses on religious knowledge from the mouths of females ; nor should they carry on discussions with females, a king, or his servants.

35.—Do not insult religious tutors, superiors, those respected by the people, the learned, and those that bear arms.

36.—Never do anything rashly ; nor be slow in a charitable act; teach what is learnt, and daily associate with the Sádhus.

37.—Do not go with empty hands to pay a visit to a spiritual preceptor, a god, or a king ; neither betray a trust placed in you, nor praise yourself.

38.—My followers should not wear such blameable clothes as when put on the body expose all its members to view.

39.—The worship of Kríshná not attended with the proper duties of the classes should never be made ; do not give up adoring Kríshná for fear of calumny from the ignorant.

40.—On the days of religious festival, or on ordinary days, the males and females that go to the temple should not touch each the other sex.

41.—Those twice-born that have received *Kríshná Díksha* (initiation in the mysteries of the sect which believe in Kríshná) from the spiritual preceptor, should always wear on their necks two rosaries made of *Tulsí* wood (*Ocynum sanctum*), and should make an erect mark on the forehead, &c.

42.—This mark must be made with *gopíchandan* (a peculiar whitish and unctuous earth found at Dwárka &c.), or with the common Chandan which is mixed with saffron &c., and which is left from the worship of *Harí* (Kríshná.)

43.—Within this erect mark there ought to be made a round mark with the same substance or the red powder which is the *Prasádí* of Rádhá and Kríshná.

44.—The pure *Shudras* (servile class) of Kríshná, while practising their peculiar duties, should, like the twice-born, use rosaries and a vertical mark on the forehead.

45.—Those twice-born of my followers, who have, from their forefathers, used a rosary of *Rudraksh* (the berry of a tree sacred to Shíva, *Eleocarpus lancelolatus* or *ganitrus*), and a horizontal mark, should not discontinue that practice.

47.—Naráyan and Shíva should be considered as the same deity, since they both have been declared by the Vedas as *Brahm* (Supreme Being.)

48.—My followers should not take the laws relating to the time of distress into their most extensive signification when that calumny is of an insignificant nature.

49.—Every day awake before sun-rise ; after offering prayers to Kríshná, proceed to the bodily purification.

50.—Having seated yourself on a place, wash your face, and then having bathed with pure water, use two clean cloths, one for wearing and the other for covering the body.

51.—Then sit on a clean and moderate sized seat placed on purified ground, and make garglings with your face either to the east or north.

52.—My male followers should then make on the forehead a vertical mark with a round spot in it, and the wives should make a circular mark of red powder only.

53.—A widow should wear neither the vertical nor the round mark on her forehead; after these things, my followers ought to engage in the mental worship of Kríshná.

54.—Having reverently bowed to the pictures of Rádhá and Kríshná, let them repeat their *Mantra* (a formula sacred to any individual deity) as many times as possible; then they may apply themselves to their worldly affairs.

55.—Those votaries who have, like Ambarish, dedicated their bodies and souls to the Deity, should perform the rites in the order above enumerated, ending in the mental worship.

56.—They should worship an image made of either stone or wood, or metal, with offerings such as are procurable at the time, and the Mantra of Kríshná composed of eighteen letters should be repeated.

57.—According to one's abilities and time the *Strotra* (a book celebrating the praises of a deity) of Kríshná should be read; those that have not studied the Sanskrít should at least repeat his name.

58.—Those that are given up to the worship of Kríshná, should first present dinner to him and then they should eat the sanctified food; and should ever continue charitably disposed towards each other.

59.—Those votaries are called *Nírgan* (without attributes, qualities, or properties), since all their acts being intended for the Nírgana *Harí* (another name of Kríshná), are themselves Nírgana.

60.—These worshippers should neither drink water nor eat leaves, roots, or fruits, which have not been presented to Kríshná.

61.—Those of my followers who have been debilitated by old age, or suffer inconvenience the consequence of some calamity, should give the image of Kríshná which they possess into the charge of other votaries.

62.—The image of Kríshná which has been given by the *Achárya* (a founder of a religious sect), or consecrated by him, should be worshipped and served, but to other images bowing is sufficient.

63.—Every evening all my followers should attend the house of God and there loudly repeat the names of the husband of Rádhiká.

64.—His adventures should be related as well as heard with reverence, and on the holidays his hymns should be sung accompanied by the sound of musical instruments.

65.—In this manner my followers should exercise themselves daily, and they should study works both in Sanskrít and in the popular dialect as far as their abilities permit.

66.—Every person should be employed with strict regard to his dignity and character.

67.—Let every one always provide with food and clothing his own servants in proportion to their merit and the means he can command.

68.—Conversations carried on with any person should be conformably to the qualifications of that person, shaping it suitably to time and place, and not otherwise.

69.—A tutor, a king, a superior, an ascetic, a learned man, and he that practices austerities, should all be well received; with ceremonies, such as rising from the seat, showing humility, and the like.

70.—In the presence of a tutor, God, and king, and in an assembly, none should squat down by putting the foot on the thigh, or sit with a cloth girt round the knees.

71.—Never hold a discussion with your *Acháryá* (a founder of a religious sect—his descendent), but reverently serve him by providing him, according to your means, with all things, such as food, money, and clothes.

72.—When you hear of his arriving, immediately go out to receive him: when he departs, you should accompany him as far as the limits of the village.

73.—If by doing a thing which promises a rich reward, one should fall from his alloted duties, that ought not to be done, because the duties (when properly attended to) are able to confer the four *Arthas* (a thing to be attained—an object.)

74.—If in former times great people have allowed themselves unbecoming practices, my followers ought not to imitate their faults but their good deeds.

75.—Never reveal the secrets of any person whatever; all persons should not be regarded with an equal eye, but a distinction must be observed as to their merits.

76.—All my followers ought to practise particular religious observances during the rainy season; as for those that have a weak constitution, they ought to practice the same for the month of *Shrávan* (one of the twelve months) only.

77.—Reading and hearing the adventures of Víshnu, and singing of his praises, solemn service, repeating his *Mantrá*, (a formula ssered to an individual deity,) reading the *Stotra*, (Praise of a God.,) and circumambulations.

78.—Prostration; these observances are considered as the best; any one of these should be practiced with love and fervour.

79.—The fast of all the *Ekádashis* (the eleventh day of the waxing or of the waning moon) should be observed with reverence; as also that of the birth-days of Krishná and that of Shíva Ratrí, passing the day in rejoicings.

80.—On fast days try your utmost to avoid sleeping during the day, as by it the virtue of a fast is destroyed as well as by copulation.

81.—The arrangement of *Vríts* and *Ukavas* (vows and festivals) as made by the most prominent of *Vaíshnavas*, (followers of Vishnu), Shrí Vithaleshji, who was the son of Shrí Vallabhachácháryа,

82.—Should be adopted; and all the Vríts and Utsavas should be observed by my followers accordingly; and the methods of worshipping Krishná should also be adopted according to his directions.

83.—A pilgrimage to the *Tírths*, (a holy place) Dwaraká being chief, should be performed with proper rites by my followers, who should also show sympathy with the poor.

84.—Vishnu, Shíva, Ganpatí, Párvatí, and the Sun, these five deities should be worshipped and respected by my followers.

85.—When at any place an annoyance from a ghost &c. is suffered, *Náráyan Kavach* should be perused, or the *Mantra* of *Hanumán* should be muttered, but not the *Mantra* of any other trifling gods.

86.—During the eclipses of the sun and moon, all affairs should be laid aside, and my followers after having purified themselves should repeat the *Mantra* of Kríshná.

87.—At the termination of the eclipses, they should bathe with the clothes on, and the *Grahasths* (house-holders) should distribute alms according to their means; and those that have renounced the world and worldly connexions should worship God.

88.—Those followers of mine who belong to the four classes, should, according to the Shástras, be scrupulous about the impurities called *Jonmashauch* (impurity contracted in consequence of a birth,) and *Mristashouch* (impurity contracted in consequence of a death), in proportion to the degree of affinity.

89.—Brahmans should be possessed of indifference, government of the senses, forbearance, contentment, and such other virtues; the Kashatris, or military class, of bravery, fortitude, and the like.

90.—*Vaishyas* (or mercantile class) should be occupied in agriculture, mercantile pursuits, money-lending &c., and the *Shudras* (servile class) should maintain themselves by serving the twice-born.

91.—The twice-born should perform, according to times and means, the essential and purificative ceremonies, the daily duties, and the offerings to the gods and manes.

92.—If knowingly or unknowingly any sin, great or small, were committed, its penance should be according to one's means.

93.—The *Vedas*, *Sutras* of Vyás, the *Purán* called *Bhágvat*, and the thousand names of Víshnu.

94.—The Bhágvatgitá and Vídurniti; these last three being contained in the Bhárat; the *Vasudeva Mahátmya* from the *Vishnu Khand* of *Skand Purán*.

95.—*Yádnyavalkya Smriti*, one of the *Dharma Shástras*; these eight good Shástras are approved by me.

96.—All my twice-born disciples who would wish good to themselves, should hear, read, and relate, these good Shástras.

97.—When a question in regard to *Achár*, (Conduct,) *Vyavahár*, (Business,) and *Práyashchi*, (Penances,) is to be determined, my followers should refer to the *Yádryavalkya Smriti*, illustrated by the commentary called Mitáksharà.

98.—For the comprehension of the glory of Kríshná, the fifth and the tenth books of Bhágvat should be considered as the best of all these genuine Shástras.

99.—The fifth and tenth books of Bhágvat and Smriti of Yádnyavalkya are my *Bhakt Shástra*, (Doctrines concerning of a birth,) *Yoga Shástra*, (a treatise on meditations,) and *Dharma Shástra* (a code of laws in general.)

100.—As a treatise on the soul, I approve the commentary on Bhágvat Gítá and Vyás Sutra, made by Rámánujáchárya.

101.—Those sentiments of these Shástras which magnify the merit of *Kríshnà* and of *Dharma* of worshipping and of self-renunciation.

102.—(These sentiments) should be esteemed more highly than others; they contain this principle, that the worship of Kríshná should be accompanied with Dharma or religious duties.

103.—Dharma is that good practice which is enjoined by *Shrutis* (the Vedas, severally or collectively) and *Smritis* (the body of law, as delivered originally by Manes and other inspired legislators); and Bhakti is that extreme love in Kríshná, which is attended with an idea as to the glory of Kríshná.

104.—Váirágya is a dislike of all things except Kríshná; Dnan is a good knowledge of the soul, the universe, and the Deity.

105.—The soul may be considered as occupying the heart, but extremely subtle and full of consciousness, possessing the power of perception, and becomes manifest in all bodies by sensation; its characteristics being invulnerability, inseparability, and the like.

106.—The energizing power of Kríshná is *Trigunarup*, and what is called Máya; it is to be recognized as the efficient cause of such distinctions in regard to the body, and the things relating to it as are conveyed by (the words) *I*, *my*, and the like.

107.—That which pervades life, as this pervades the heart, should be regarded as absolute Lord and rewarder of all acts.

108.—This power, known as the glorious *Kríshná*, *Para*, *Brahma*, *Bhagvan*, *Parashotam*, is our adorable beloved Deity.

109.—He, together with Rádha, should be considered our Lord under the name of Rádha Kríshná; with Rakmini, he should be recognised as Lakshmi Náráyan.

110.—When joined with Arjun, he is distinguished by the name of Nara Nárayan; and when with Balbhadra, Kríshná Balbhadra.

111.—These votaries, namely, Radha, Rakmini, &c., in some places appear as waiting upon Kríshná, and in others as absorbed in his body by their extreme attachment to him.

112.—Therefore do not ever consider that the diversity in the forms makes a difference in the identity of the Deity. Four or more handed forms are manifested merely by the will of the two-handed Kríshná.

113.—Him alone men ought to worship in the world by every means in their power; and they should assure themselves that except Bhakti (devotion) there is nothing which can procure salvation.

114.—The proper use of the virtue of the virtuous is to bear love to Kríshná and associate with Sadhus; otherwise without such a love and association, even a *Pandit* (a learned man—one read in sacred science) will fall into hell.

115.—Kríshná, his incarnates, and their images, should be contemplated, but not kings nor those men that know Brahma.

116.—Every one should regard his soul as apart from its three *bodies*, and Brahmrupa (of the divine essence), and so Kríshná ought to be worshipped.

117.—The tenth book of Bhágvat should be heard with reverence, and the learned men should read it either daily or once a year.

118.—One should read the tenth book of Bhágvat, Vishnusahasranáma, &c., in pure

places, and should have them read according to one's means, for such reading procures whatever is desired.

119.—Under natural or human calamities, and under maladies, men should exert themselves for their own protection and for that of their dependents.

120.—Men should adapt their conduct, business, and penances, to their country, time, age, means, class, and ability.

121.—My principal doctrine is Vishist Advait (the Deity, souls, and the universe, have no beginning), and the desired heaven for us is Golok, where to worship Krishná in the divine form is by us termed Muktí (salvation).

122.—These above enumerated are the general duties, both of the males and females, who are my followers. Now I shall relate the particular ones.

123.—The two sons of my elder and younger brothers ought never to give religious instruction to any women besides their near relations.

124.—They should not touch women, nor should they hold conversation with them in any place whatever; no fierceness should be shown to any one whatsoever, nor a deposit of another should be taken charge of with a view to its protection.

125.—In the transactions of this world they should not stand security for any person whatever; the time of distress should be passed away in begging, but never contract debts.

126.—The corn that has been bestowed by their followers, they should not sell; but to exchange old corn for new is not called a sale.

127.—On the fourth day of *Bhádra* (one of the months) *Shukha*, (waxing of the moon) the worship of the vanquisher of calamities (Ganásh) should be performed; and on the 14th of *Ashiain Krishná* (waning of the month called Ashwin) *Hunuman* (the monkey chief) should be worshipped.

128.—These two sons, who are established in the spiritual tutelage for the purpose of guarding the religious duties of all my votaries, should initiate those that are anxious of obtaining salvation.

129.—They should keep their followers confined to their respective duties. *Sádhus* should be revered, and the genuine Shástra be studied with reverence.

130.—In the great temples, (the idols such as) Lakshmi Náráyan and others that have been consecrated by me, should be caused to be worshipped with proper rites.

131.—Any man whatever who should happen to come to the temple of God for the purpose of begging corn, should be accommodated with the gift of corn according to circumstances.

132.—A place for study having been set apart, a learned Brahmin should be employed in it, and true knowledge should be diffused in this world, for that is a very meritorious act in this world.

133.—The wives of these (brothers,) with the permission of their respective husbands, should initiate females in the formula sacred to Krishná.

134.—They should nowhere touch or speak to other males than their near relatives; nor should they show their faces to them.

135.—My followers who are Grahasths should not touch widows, except their near relations.

136.—They should not remain alone with their young mother, sister, or daughter, except in a time of distress ; nor should they give away their wives in charity.

137.—No connexion should ever be made with a woman who is by some dealing or other connected with the king of the land.

138.—A guest that has happened to come into any house should be treated with great respect, being provided with food and other things according to ability. The rites relating to the gods and the *Pitri* (the manes) should be performed according to the Shastra, and one's means.

139.—My followers should, during all their life-time, as far as their means permit, render service to their father, mother, spiritual tutor, and a man that is afflicted with disease.

140.—Every one should, according to his ability, carry on some trade suitable to his caste and religious order ; those that live by agriculture should not castrate a bull.

141.—According to circumstances and time, one should lay up provision or money ; those that keep cattle should lay up a stock of straw equal to their consumption.

142.—If one be sure that he can himself attend to the proper treatment of cows and other animals, providing them with hay and water, then only he may keep them, otherwise not.

143.—Dealings in land and money should never be transacted even with a brother or friend, without a deed signed by witnesses.

144.—Expenditure ought always to be in proportion to income, otherwise one is sure to suffer.

145.—The money that is agreed upon to be received or given in the matter of a betrothment, should be specified on paper, with proper witnesses, but no verbal agreement should be had recourse to.

146.—Every day one should review one's income and expenditure in the common affairs of life, and note them down with one's own hand.

147.—My followers should assign a tithe of their incomes to Kríshná ; as to the poor they should give a twentieth part.

148.—The closing ceremonies of fasts of which the Ekádashis are the principal, should be performed according to the Shástras and one's means, for this will have the power of accomplishing the desired object.

149.—Every Shráwan, one should perform or get others to perform the worship of Shiva affectionately, and with the leaves of Bili and the like.

150.—Neither money, ornaments, nor clothes, should be borrowed from the spiritual tutor or the temple of Kríshná.

151.—While proceeding to pay obeisance to the glorious Kríshná, the spiritual tutor, or to a holy man, do not accept provisions (gratis) from any persons on the roads, or at those places, (of destination,) for that would deprive you of your religious merit.

152.—Pay to the workman the wages that have been agreed upon ; when you pay your debt do not conceal the fact, and have no dealings with the wicked.

153.—If through the harassment of a famine, enemies, or a king, one's character, wealth, or life, is endangered,

154.—The wise among my votaries should at once quit even their native country, and emigrate into another where they can reside peaceably.

155.—The rich Grahasths should celebrate those sacrifices pertaining to Vishnu which require no killing of animals ; *Brahmans* and *Sádhus* should be fed on *Parvas* (particular days in the year, holy-days) at the Tírths.

156.—They should celebrate the great festivals of God in the temples, and should distribute gifts of various kinds among deserving Brahmans.

157.—Kings who are my followers should, in accordance with Dharmashástra (the code of laws) govern their subjects, and protect them like their children, and should confirm the observance of proper duties in the land.

158.—They should know perfectly well the circumstances connected with the State, *viz.*, the seven *Anyas*, (Requisites,) the four *Upayas*, (Expedients,) and the six *Gunas*, and the *Tírths*, (the word *Tirth* here means a place worth sending a spy to.) They should also know the court-functionaries, noticing from their conduct those that are punishable, and those that are not so.

159.—Wives should serve their husbands as gods, and use no offensive language to them, though they be diseased, indigent, or eunuchs.

160.—They should have no connection with any other man, though possessed of beauty, youth, and accomplishments.

161.—A chaste woman should not expose her naval, thigh, or the breasts, so as to be seen of males, nor should she remain without covering her head; she should never look at actors, nor associate with a woman destitute of modesty.

162.—A wife, while her husband is abroad in a foreign country, should wear neither ornaments nor rich clothes ; she should neither enter into another's house, nor laugh or jest with other women.

163.—Widows should serve the god Harí, regarding him as their husband ; they should live under the control of their father, son, &c., but not independent.

164.—They ought never to touch any men except their near relative, and in youth they should not, without necessity, talk with youthful men.

165.—If a suckling male-child touch them, there is no sin, since it is merely like a mute animal; also if they are obliged from necessity to talk with, or touch an old man, there is no sin either.

166.—They should never receive lessons from any man but their kinsman : let them often mortify their bodies by vows and fasts.

167.—They should never expend the money which they want for their own maintenance in charitable purposes, but only any excess they have.

168.—They should take one meal a day, and sleep on the ground : they should never look at the copulation of any animals whatever.

169.—Widows should not dress like married women or *Sanyásini* (a female ascetic,) and *Vitrájá* (a female whose worldly affections and passions are subdued or mortified,) or in any extraordinary manner.

170.—They should neither associate with nor touch a woman that has (secretly) procured abortion ; nor should they either converse about, or hear anything on the subject of, decorations of the male sex.

171.—With the exception of the time of distress, young widows should never be alone in secret places, even with their kinsmen, if the latter are youthful.

172.—They should not play tricks during the festival of the Hulí, nor should they put on ornaments or fine clothes &c., made of cotton and metal threads.

173.—Neither wives nor widows should ever bathe without their cloth on : no woman should ever conceal the first appearance of her menstruation.

174.—A menstruous woman should not for a period of three days touch either a human being, clothes &c., but from the fourth, after having bathed, she may do so.

175.—Those of my followers who are Naishthík Brahmacháris should not knowingly either touch, or talk with, or look at, women.

176.—They should never talk, or hear others talk, of women, and they should not perform oblations &c. at places frequented by them.

177.—They should never purposely touch or look at even the pictures, or wooden or other images of women, except those representing goddesses.

178.—They should neither draw the representation of a woman, nor touch her clothes, nor knowingly look at animals in the act of copulation.

179.—They should neither touch nor look at a male in the disguise of a woman ; nor should they celebrate praises of God with a view to let women hear.

180.—They should not obey even the command of their spiritual tutor, if it in any way were injurious to the vow of Bramcharya ; they should live in patience, contentment, and humility.

181.—When a woman comes near them, they should call out loudly desiring her to go aside, and if she still obstinately approaches, they should drive her away with scorn.

182.—When their own life or that of women is in imminent danger, they should protect themselves or the women even by touching or talking with them.

183.—They should not anoint their bodies with oil, nor should they bear weapons ; they should not dress themselves in a strange costume, and they should subdue the sense of taste.

184.—Even in the house of a Brahman, if the dinner happens to be served up by a woman, they should not partake of it, but go to some other house.

185.—They should study the Vedas and Shástras, and serve their spiritual tutor ; they should avoid associating with uxorious persons, as well as with women.

186.—They who are by birth Brahmans, should not drink water from a leathern vessel ; nor should they even eat onions, garlic, &c.

187.—They should not eat their dinner without performing bathing, *Sandhya*, (religious abstraction,) repeating the Gayatri (a religious formula) worship of the glorious Víshnu, and *Taishwadeva* (the casting of a little food into the fire as an offering to the deities.)

188.—Now, the Sádhus also, like the Naishthík Brahmacharis, should avoid associating with women, and men addicted to them, and should subdue the internal foes.

189.—They should conquer all the senses, more particularly the sense of taste ; should neither lay up money themselves, nor get others to do it for them.

190.—They should not take charge of the deposit of any person whatever ; they should never relinquish their patient disposition, nor allow a woman to enter their abodes at any time.

191.—Excepting a time of distress, they should never go out singly, nor should they journey by night without the presence of a companion.

192.—They should not use a rich flowered or a *Kusuna*—a dye prepared from safflower (*Carthamus Tinctorius*) or otherwise dyed cloth; or a costly cloth, though freely presented by another.

193.—They should not go to the house of Grahasths, unless for the purpose of asking alms or attending an assembly (of the learned); nor should they waste time without adoring God.

194.—In the house of Grahasths, where males are employed in serving up the dishes, and no woman is seen,

195.—There only my Sádhus should repair to take dinner, otherwise they should ask for undressed food, which they must prepare themselves.

196.—My Sádhus should behave in the same manner as Jada Bharat, son of Rishabh did in olden time.

197.—The Sádhus and Brahmachari should try their utmost exertions to abstain from the use of beetle-leaves, opium, tobacco, &c.

198.—They should not accept of the dinner given on account of the *Sanskár* (an essential or purifactory rite or ceremony) of pregnancy, &c., and *Pret* (a corpse) *Shrádhas* and the Shrádhas made on the 12th day after a deceased person.

199.—They should not sleep during the day, unless afflicted with sickness or other distress. They should neither carry on conversation about worldly objects, nor attend to such conversations.

200.—They should not lie down on a cot, except when suffering from distress of a disease &c., and should behave sincerely towards the fellows of their order.

201.—They should bear patiently bad language, or even beating, from wicked persons; and wish good to them.

202.—They should not play at a game, nor act as informers or spies; they should harbour neither egotism nor nepotism.

203.—Thus have I enumerated shortly the duties of all; as for the detail, I refer to the systematic works on the subject belonging to the creed.

204.—Having extracted the substance from all the genuine Shástras, I have prepared this epistle, which possesses the virtue of bestowing whatever one may be desirous of.

205.—Therefore my followers, who have a control over their mind, should behave in conformity with its precepts, but not whimsically.

206.—Those males and females of my followers who will act according to this epistle, shall certainly obtain the four blessings, *viz.*, (Dharma, Arth, Kan, Moksha.)

207.—Those that will not act according to this, shall be considered by my followers as not within the pale of my sect or fraternity.

208.—My followers should daily read this epistle, and those that do not know to read should hear another read it.

209.—But in the absence of a reader they should worship it, and should with reverence regard it as my word and my image.

210.—This epistle should be given to heavenly-minded persons, but never to evil-minded ones.

211.—This good epistle was completed on the first day of the season of spring, in the year 1882 of Vikram.

212.—May Krishná, the destroyer of the obstacles of his votaries, preserver of devotion, (accompanied with the performance of proper duties,) bestower of whatever happiness is desired, grant blessings to us!

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